

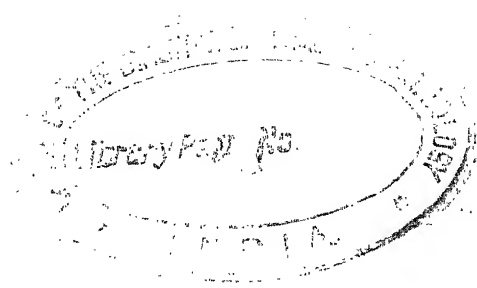
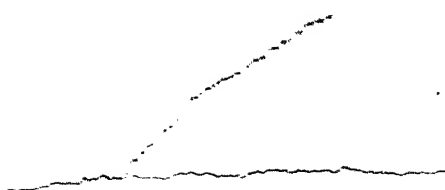
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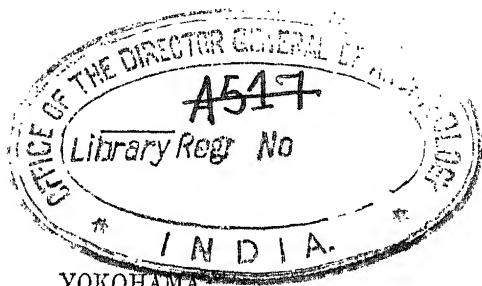
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ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

MINUTES OF MEETINGS.

Tōkyō, October 12th, 1887.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the College of Engineering, Tōkyō, on Wednesday, October 12th, 1887, N. J. Hannen, Esq., President, in the Chair.

The minutes of last meeting, having been published in the *Japan Mail*, were taken as read.

It was announced that the following gentlemen had been elected Ordinary Members:—Prof. W. K. Burton, H. von Jasmund, Esq., Dr. W. Van der Heyden, Captain Minter, Dr. S. Scriba, H. Watanabe, Esq., T. B. Clarke-Thornhill, Esq., P. Mayet, Esq., Dr. E. Baelz, Professor C. B. Storrs, Hon. R. B. Hubbard, E. Odum, Esq.

Dr. Edkins' paper on "Persian Elements in Japanese Legends" was read by Dr. Amerman.

The Chairman, after expressing the indebtedness of the Society to Dr. Edkins for his instructive paper, called on Dr. Amerman to read the next presented by Mr. Chamberlain, who was unfortunately prevented from coming himself to read it. The paper was an account of "Rodriguez' System of Transliteration."

The Chairman, in expressing the thanks of the Society to the author of the paper, remarked that, as usual, Mr. Chamberlain had treated with characteristic felicity what might in many hands have proved a very dreary subject.

The meeting then adjourned.

In the discussion which followed the reading of Dr. Edkins' paper on "Persian Elements in Japanese Legends," in which Messrs. Amerman, Aston, Dixon, Knott, and Miller took part, the feeling was generally expressed that the evidence so far brought forward by Dr. Edkins was hardly sufficient to form a basis for any argument. One of the six resemblances was of no value whatever, as horses were not known in Japan before the 3rd century. In general too the resemblances mentioned seemed insignificant in comparison with the differences. Indeed, granting that the human race is descended from one stock, we should expect to find more striking resemblances than we do. Besides it has been recently demonstrated pretty clearly that similarity of myths does not imply community of origin, the only common element being human nature.

After the reading of Mr. Chamberlain's paper on "Rodriguez' System of Transliteration," quite a lively discussion followed, which was in great measure a sparring between the advocates of the phonetic and so-called historic systems of transliteration.

Professor Milne said it would be well to know if the Portuguese *x* of the 17th century was pronounced as it is pronounced now. This criticism was accentuated by Rev. Mr. Summers, who doubted if the Portuguese *x* was at the present time fitly represented by the English *sh*.

Dr. Knott argued that the comparison of the two systems, Rodriguez' and Hepburn's, led to the conclusion that the Portuguese *x* had not changed its phonetic value since Rodriguez' days. In 1603 a certain Japanese *kana* was the equivalent of the Portuguese *xi*; in 1887 the same *kana* was the equivalent of *shi*, and therefore of *xi* as at present pronounced by the Portuguese. Either then *xi* was so pronounced in 1603, or since that time Japanese and Portuguese pronunciation had changed, with respect to this sound, in exactly the same manner. No change at all was infinitely more credible than an exactly same change in two such different languages. In his opinion, Rodriguez' transliteration system proved constancy of pronunciation in both the Portuguese and Japanese languages.

The Rev. E. R. Miller drew attention to Rodriguez' series *fa fi fu fe fo*, and asked if any one could tell to what extent that pronunciation existed now.

Mr. Aston replied that *fi* and *fu* were distinctly so pronounced near Nagasaki, but that in the other cases there could not be said to be any true approximation to our *f* sound. As to the general conclusions of the paper, he was in perfect agreement with Mr. Chamberlain. There could be no reasonable doubt that Rodriguez was transliterating a language whose phonetic elements had the same value as they have to-day. He was also quite in accord with the position taken up by Mr. Chamberlain with reference to the various rival systems of transliteration which had been advocated in our day.

Tōkyō, November 9th, 1887.

A general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the College of Engineering, Tōkyō, on Wednesday, November 9th, 1887, at 4 p.m.

N. J. Hannen, Esq., President, occupied the Chair.

The minutes of last meeting, having been published in the *Japan Mail*, were taken as read.

It was intimated that Dr. J. N. Seymour had been elected an Ordinary Member of the Society.

At the request of the Chairman, Mr. J. Batchelor read a paper "On the Ainu Term Kamui." A lively discussion followed.

The President, after congratulating Mr. Batchelor on having given rise to one of the most animated and interesting discussions that he had ever witnessed in the Society, declared the meeting adjourned.

After the reading of Mr. Batchelor's paper on the Ainu term *Kamui*, the President invited discussion from those present.

Mr. Chamberlain, who was prevented by ill health from attending the meeting, sent some written remarks which have been printed as a separate paper (p. 33).

Mr. J. C. Hall said that the new array of facts which Mr. Batchelor had brought before them had, in his opinion, a distinct bearing upon the question of the origin of natural religions. In this country we were brought into close contact with Chinese religious ideas, which, at the time of their introduction, found in the Japanese ideas a lower stratum of religious thought. Now we learn of a lower stratum still. What elements, if any, are common to these three forms of religion? Herbert Spencer believes that natural religion finds its origin in dreams; while others maintain that there is a still lower religious phase, namely Fetishism. Fetishism was simply the incapacity to recognise the difference between activity and life. It was surprising how tenacious fetishistic ideas had been in the history of mankind. The case of the ancient Greeks, who combined strong fetishistic ideas with philosophical conceptions of a very high order, was one of the most striking. There had been a long controversy as to whether the Chinese had any true idea of "God," and it is now generally admitted that they had not—that the word *T'ien* really signifies the sky, regarded fetishistically as a living thing, and not used metaphorically, as we sometimes use Heaven as a synonym for God. The failure of many eminent students of Chinese literature to appreciate this fact, and their persistency in reading into the Chinese terms the religious ideas of the West, are perhaps more surprising even than the persistence of this fetishism. He believed that Japanese religion was originally of the same character, although Hirata, under the influence of more modern ideas, concludes after a long discussion that the Sun-goddess was always regarded as a being residing in the Sun. The truth of the fetishistic theory seemed also to be borne out by an account recently given by Mr. Batchelor of the effect produced upon an Ainu by an eclipse of the sun. The Ainu at once remarked, "the luminary is dying." Perhaps Mr. Batchelor could give other facts, either supporting this theory, or controverting it.

Mr. Batchelor remarked that the Ainu really regards the sun as a body in which the deity resides, distinguishing, so to speak, between a body and a soul.

Professor Milne suggested that the Ainus and Japanese might have borrowed their respective words *Kamui* and *Kami* from the same source. He sided with Mr. Batchelor in the spelling of the name Ainu, contending that Mr. Chamberlain's illustrations were not really parallel cases. Ainu studies are now, strictly speaking, only making a commencement. Let us, then, at all events begin as correctly as possible.

Professor Dixon argued that it was useless at this date to try to alter a spelling which had so firmly established itself. We know how futile had been the attempts of the Saxon School to change the recognised spelling of Saxon names to what they certainly were originally. He therefore sided with Mr. Chamberlain as to the spelling of *Aino* in European literature. At the same time it would be best of course to use *Ainu* in Ainu literature.

Mr. Batchelor maintained that Ainu had been spelt Aino because of ignorance. It was all very well to talk of the usage of two hundred and fifty years, and of the literature on the subject. How much of that is really reliable? Now that we had but recently made a true beginning in Ainu studies, are we not then to try and start right?

The Rev. H. Waddell thought it was quite a mistake to regard the Chinese as having no true idea of God. What was the idea of God? Was it not the mysterious, the wonderful? And to regard heaven as a protecting power, raising up nations and pulling them down, and in general superintending human affairs, is a sentiment very akin to our own. Without entering into the question as to the origin of the religious idea in man, we can surely easily understand how, the idea of God once formed, anything extraordinary in nature should come to be worshipped as a God; and certainly all nations have more or less worshipped nature.

Mr. Aston wished to call attention to one or two minor points that had been referred to by Mr. Batchelor. First, the *gohei* in Shintō temples do not represent the *kami*; they are the survivals of the bits of cloth which were originally brought as offerings. Then as to the general argument based on the improbability of the Ainu word *kamui* with all its associated ideas being derived from the Japanese *kami*, even granting that they were not originally identical, it might clear our notions a little if we considered a somewhat parallel case in the development of European religious ideas. Thus the Greek word *diabolos* means originally simply a calumniator; but our words, devil, devilish, derived therefrom, are used in ways that never could have been imagined by the Greeks. The adjective is indeed sometimes used to emphasise a good quality. Even if the Ainu term *kamui* differed more than it does from its supposed parent the Japanese *kami*, it would give little cause for surprise.

Mr. Mayet expressed his opinion that nature worship is the real origin of all natural religions, and that much of it still survived in Japanese rites, the *gohei* for example being, he believed, the symbol of the lightning. He was therefore surprised to learn that the Ainu recognises no star-god, thunder-god, or lightning-god. Could Mr. Batchelor offer any explanation of this?

Mr. Batchelor remarked that the facts of the Ainu religion were very simply stated. They had one chief god, and all the others were officers or messengers of this supreme being. The sun, moon, and stars were certainly not worshipped, and there was no lightning or thunder god. These were the facts, but the explanation of them was beyond him.

Tōkyō, December 4th, 1887.

A general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the College of Engineering, Tōkyō, on Wednesday, December 14th, 1887, at 4 p.m.

Dr. Divers occupied the chair.

The minutes of last meeting were read and approved.

It was announced that Messrs. H. L. Fardel and C. H. Hinton had been elected ordinary members of the Society.

The Chairman informed the meeting that the Society's Library had, by the permission of the President of the Imperial University, been accommodated with a room in the College of Engineering; that the Library was open on week-days from 7 a.m. to 9 p.m., and on Sundays from 8 p.m. to 9 p.m.; and that members and visitors, wishing to make use of the Library, either for reading or borrowing books, were to apply to the Librarian of the College.

The Chairman then called on Mr. Hall to read Mr. Aston's paper on "Early Japanese History," the author himself being unfortunately unable to be present.

The Chairman, in asking the Secretary to convey to Mr. Aston the thanks of the Society for his paper, remarked that there could be but one sentiment as to its great value. It was an important addition to those valuable historical contributions, which had already made the Society's record so satisfactory. He would also, in the name of the Society, thank Mr. Hall for his kindness in having undertaken the reading of the paper.

A prolonged discussion followed the reading of the paper.

Mr. Chamberlain, who was prevented by ill health from attending the meeting, sent the following written remarks:—

The destruction of the fables that are current under the name of early Japanese history, and the partial reconstruction of a true early history of this country being one of my special hobbies, it need scarcely be said how great appears to me to be the value of the paper which has just been read. Mr. Aston seems to have a special talent for finding his way about in dark and misty places. He also has the talent of making the driest subject interesting. Dates themselves become, under his handling, much more than mere dates,—as when, for instance, by his remarkable discovery of the often recurring error of just 120 years, he shows us how unexpected are the elements which must be taken into account in judging whether a Japanese date is probably true or probably false. He has perhaps exhausted the subject from the outside. It now remains for other scholars,—or, better still, for himself,—to treat it in equal detail from the point of view of internal evidence,—the evidence, that is of the books, the customs, the place-names of Japan itself. Mr. Satow's work on the early Shintō Rituals, contained in an earlier volume of this Society's "Transactions," is an instalment of what we require. But the *Nihongi*, the old topographical works entitled *Fudoki*, and the poems of the *Man-yōshū*, still remain without a critic. Nor is it only the early history and the pre-history of

Japan which await their Niebuhr. We are scarcely better off when we tread the solid ground of the last twelve hundred years. What a recent writer in the *Saturday Review* termed "the poor halting Japanese Clio" has, with eyes ever fixed on the throne and the battle-field, told us scarcely anything beyond the accessions and abdications of puppet-emperors, the year, month, and day when certain great officials were appointed to certain posts or vacated them, and the hand-to-hand fights of feudal chieftains. The dates seem to be correct. But what are they worth in so meagre a context? Surely a reliable, well-written, edifying history of the Japanese people is the greatest desideratum of the enlightened Japan of the present day. It is a work which one of the Government Departments should set itself to with a will. The materials are there. The only embarrassment is the *embarras de richesses*. The whole classical literature, the poems, the romances, the court diaries and diaries of travel, the biographies of Buddhist saints, the memoirs which the Middle Ages and more recent times have left in such abundance,—all this, and much more, is there, waiting only to be sifted by a critical hand. This will supply the flesh wherewith to clothe the dry bones of the official annals. Then, too, for the last three centuries, there are European sources which must not be neglected. What may, for instance, be called the Catholic episode of the seventeenth century would stand a poor chance of being fairly appreciated, if Japanese sources alone were relied on. Nevertheless, the Japanese sources are the chief sources, and their voluminousness almost negatives the possibility of any European ever properly ransacking them. This is a task which must be left to the Japanese themselves. Two obstacles still bar the way to Japanese success in this direction. One,—a serious one,—is the ignorance which still prevails in Japan concerning the methods of criticism, especially of the criticism of sources. It vitiates all that has hitherto been done by native Japanese scholars in this field, even down to the *Nihon Tsugan* published in this very year by men from whom better things might have been looked for. The other obstacle sounds to our ears rather ludicrous, but yet undoubtedly has real weight with the Japanese even in these outspoken days. It consists in a fear of offending the powers that be, by digging for facts instead of respectfully repeating fables. Japanese in good positions have frequently told me that they would not dare publicly to assert that the Mikado was not descended from the Sun-goddess, or that Jimmu Tennō had never existed, although privately they entertained no objection to the foreign books in which the denial is made. Surely it is time to have done with all this make-believe. If the imperial dynasty depended for its safety on such airy nothings, its fate would long ago have been sealed. To make use of the railway, the telegraph, the telephone, to permit the study of Mill, Darwin, and Spencer, to establish newspapers and popular assemblies, in fact to navigate in the mid-current of nineteenth century thought, and at the same time to put a veto on history, and to perpetuate in its stead the childish legends of Jimmu Tennō, Yamato-dake, and their compeers, is surely a piece of inconsistency, which only needs a little ventilating to be discarded. Discarded it will be. But the honour of

discarding it and of setting the study of Japanese history on a legitimate basis, will fall to some private individual, if the Bureau of History or some other of the great Government Departments does not very soon step into the breach.

Mr. Gubbins, after expressing his general accord with all that had been said, by both Mr. Aston and Mr. Chamberlain, related an experience he had had when pursuing his special studies in the historical romances. It was his fortune once while searching through the book-shops of Ōsaka, to come across a manuscript of an historical romance purporting to contain a detailed account of the conquest of the Loochoo Islands by the Satsuma clan about 250 years ago. At first sight it seemed to be just the thing he had been wanting. It gave a detailed correspondence between the Shōgun and the Satsuma chief, and represented the invasion of Loochoo as having resulted from a private intrigue. Before making any definite use of the manuscript, however, he took the opinion of Mr. Ichiji, the chief Japanese authority on subjects connected with Loochoo, and he then found that, with the exception of the numerous dates,—and here his experience tallied with that of Mr. Chamberlain,—there was not a single word of the whole romance which was founded on fact. In regard to the special excellence of Mr. Aston's paper, regarded from a literary point of view, to which Mr. Chamberlain had drawn attention, he thought it should be remembered that it was one thing to give dry facts dryly and another thing to put them into an attractive form. To the making of the latter there went a vast amount of labour, which perhaps only students of Japanese history were able thoroughly to realize. The special thanks of the Society were therefore, he thought, due to Mr. Aston for the attractive literary form into which he had cast his facts.

Mr. Dening thought that Mr. Aston's testimony might be of special value in its effect on certain native Japanese critics. It was a rare thing indeed for a scholar to possess, as Mr. Aston did, an intimate knowledge of the language and history of Korea as well as of Japan; and in these circumstances Mr. Aston's testimony was calculated to have great weight with many Japanese of advanced views. He believed many such would be quite willing to express their true sentiments in English, although refraining from doing so in Japanese for the reasons already touched upon by Mr. Chamberlain. It would be noticed that Mr. Aston's criticism was in the main destructive. This must necessarily come first, but the constructive should not be long in following; and he felt sure that if the Society set itself to try and do something towards this, its efforts would be fully appreciated by native Japanese scholars. These all feel that a true history, written by themselves, is impossible at present. It is certainly a curious spectacle to see Japan, which is so eager in the acquisition of all knowledge in other departments of life and thought, drawing back from all attempts to advance the correct interpretation of the history of the past.

Mr. Milne remarked that Mr. Aston's very suggestive paper gave an illustration of what is found in all histories. The further one goes back in time, the less

reliable all history becomes, passing ultimately into the mythical stage, and behind that into absolute darkness. It was here, however, that the anthropologist stepped in, and constructed a kind of history from pre-historic remains. Thus anthropology had proved that the Ainus had once occupied Japan as far south as Kyūshū; and that must have been previous to the arrival of the Japanese race on the island. He should like to know if the Korean or Chinese records, of which Mr. Aston had made so much, contained any reference which might be applicable to the Ainus. In regard to Mr. Aston's critical methods, he was not quite sure in his own mind as to how far the Chinese and Korean records were authentic. Might not some scholar, for instance in Shanghai, who compared the Japanese records with the Chinese, draw the conclusion that the latter were erroneous? At present Japan is showing a far higher appreciation of the truth of things than China is, and might it not so have been in earlier days?

Mr. Hall said that the enquiry, which had been so ably opened up by Mr. Aston, had a far deeper and wider bearing than the mere question of historical criticism might seem to involve. The opinions that had just been expressed might, in their effects and consequences upon the Japanese, be of very serious import indeed. For historic dogma to be inextricably involved in the deep-seated religious beliefs of a nation, and so become part of the national life, was a fact familiar to all students of history. In Japan this had especially been the case. The *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* might truly be called the Japanese Scriptures; and all who are familiar with the events which ended with the Mikado's restoration to power know what an important part the sacred writings took in the development of these. A strong religious sentiment permeated the whole movement, a fresh interest was taken in these ancient books, and the old doctrine of the divine descent of the Mikado was officially adopted, and remains to this hour the great dogma of the Imperial Court. It therefore behoved the Japanese Government to consider what would be the effect of trying to bolster up those dogmas in the face of unbelief, secret and silent though it might now be. Of one thing he was sure, that native Japanese critics would not treat these dogmas with a rude hand, but would, in the spirit of Mr. Aston, give to them the reverence that was their due.

Bishop Bickersteth added a few words on the general question of historic methods. No doubt the earlier work of the historian was to destroy that which had been believed; but after that there arose a second stage, in which criticism was constructive. Mr. Milne had spoken of the anthropologist as a constructor of history; but the archaeologist and historian proper were quite as important in their special sphere. Each contributed something towards the faithful reproduction of the past.

Tōkyō, January, 18th, 1888.

A general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held on January 18th, 1888, in the College of Engineering, Tōkyō, N. J. Hannen, Esq., President, in the chair,

The minutes of last meeting were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that the reprinting of Vols. IV., V. (Part 1), and VI. (Part 1) of the Society's Transactions had been taken in hand, and that the following gentlemen had been elected members of the Society:—A. H. Lay, Esq., M. A. Arrivet, Esq., F. Satow, Esq., and D. Fearing, Esq.,—the last a non-resident member.

Mr. Dening then read a paper on "The Japanese Education Society," after the reading of which the following discussion took place:—

The President, in conveying the thanks of the Society to the author of the paper they had heard, remarked that Mr. Dening had opened up a field of great interest to us all. Thus it was instructive to hear from one of the Japanese themselves such outspoken views upon the mental equipment of his race. Another interesting point which had been touched upon was the question of how best to carry out a needed reform. Is it to be done gradually, or is the new method to be adopted at once, regardless of the old method which it is desired to supersede? Many years ago the wonderfully rapid political change which came over Japan used to be a frequent subject of conversation between foreigners and Japanese statesmen; and it was Iwakura, one of the leading men of the day, who gave it as his opinion that to do things by a rush was the simpler and more effective method of reform amongst the Japanese. What had been deemed best in politics should also prove best in education; and whatever educational reforms were to be carried out, should therefore be considered on their own merits only, without any regard to what had been.

Dr. Knott said that the paper just read had touched upon many points of special interest to those practically engaged in educational work in Japan. As to the lack of originality referred to by Mr. Takei,—that certainly was a fact admitted by all. Of all classes of students, perhaps the students of science might be expected to display to most advantage the rational imagination spoken of. Compared to a similar class of western students, the Japanese did seem defective in this faculty; but for this several special reasons might be given. There was plenty of evidence, however, that there was distinct capacity for original thought, which only required a congenial environment for its development.

Dr. Eby, after making some enquiries as to the number of members in the Japanese Education Society, and to the influence it exerted on the schools of the country, observed that, however much a sweeping reform in educational methods might be desired, there was one thing which compelled the present time to be a period of transition. That was the simple fact that the great majority of school teachers were themselves Japanese, who were necessarily still imbued with the spirit of the old methods.

Dr. Divers thought that the Japanese might well be regarded as being intellectually comparable to the Europeans when they had just been enlightened by the Baconian philosophy. Being, so to speak, hardly beyond the stage of infancy in

scientific things, they could scarcely be expected to show as yet much fruit of any originality. He, however, believed them to be gifted with this mental faculty to much the same extent as other folk. They lacked the early associations and experience of the things told them by their foreign teachers; and this was one chief obstacle in teaching them. For this reason lectures and book work were of themselves useless as a proper mental training. The Japanese student above all required practice, working as an apprentice under a master engaged in the prosecution of original research. In regard to the Japanese Education Society itself, he had been struck by the marvellous organization which had been described, the multitude of councillors, the supply of clerks, and so on—more like a Government Department than a Society. He should like to know if the work done by the Society was at all commensurate with its official magnificence, and if the Society as such had any influence with the Government.

Mr. Dening, in reply, said that the work done by the Society was both varied and valuable. It sent out speakers to different parts of the country to rouse an interest in educational matters; it was also made use of by country gentlemen to regulate the expenditure of their sons who were being educated in the city. Its influence was certainly great upon the schools of Japan. It could hardly be otherwise, seeing that its officials were for the most part also officials of the Mombushō. At the same time he doubted if the work done was really proportionate to the large body of councillors set apart to do it. Probably only a few of the two hundred were at all energetic in their labours for the Society.

Tōkyō, March 14th, 1888.

A general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held on March 14th, 1888, in the College of Engineering, Tōkyō, Professor J. Milne in the chair.

The minutes of last meeting were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary intimated that Mr. Hannen, in view of his approaching departure from Japan, having resigned the Presidentship, Mr. Aston had been elected President of the Society. He also announced the election of the Rev. A. Hardie and Mr. C. S. Meik as members of the Society.

The Chairman referred to the great loss the Society had sustained in the recent death of Mr. Pryer, who had been an active member of the Society and a valuable contributor to its Transactions. Mr. Pryer had been essentially a practical naturalist; and probably no other single man had a more thorough knowledge of the natural history of Japan.

Mr. C. S. Meik then read a paper entitled "Around the Hokkaidō."

The Chairman, in thanking the author for his interesting account of the Hokkaidō (Yezo), spoke of the special attractions which the island had as a summer resort. It was curious how different in almost all respects Yezo was from Japan proper. This difference applied to shape, to geological structure, to flora, and to fauna—a fact first pointed out by Captain Blakiston.

In the absence of the Rev. J. Batchelor, his paper on "Some Specimens of Ainu Folk-lore" was read by Mr. B. H. Chamberlain, after the reading of which the following discussion took place.

The Chairman said he had often heard the Ainu crooning away to himself in a soft low tone, quite pleasing to the ear, although he had never suspected that their songs and recitations were of such interest. Mr. Chamberlain had referred to the vexed question of Ainu or Aino, and he could not let the occasion pass without expressing strongly his opinion that the Asiatic Society of Japan, through whose Transactions the first true knowledge of the Ainu language and traditions were being given to the world, should say Ainu, which meant something, and not Aino, which meant nothing.

Mr. Chamberlain declined to re-commence the *Ainu* versus *Aino* controversy, but remarked that this was the first instalment of what he believed Mr. Batchelor purposed giving to the Society, although for some time to come most of his time would probably be taken up in preparing a dictionary, for which some seven or eight thousand words had already been collected. Such a dictionary would in all likelihood be a kind of tomb in which the rapidly dying language would remain enshrined for the benefit of future philologists. Even now it was striking to observe how all except the oldest men and women were really bi-lingual, speaking Japanese almost as easily as their native tongue.

In reply to a question by Dr. Divers, as to the presence of historical characters in any of the Ainu legends, Mr. Chamberlain said that Oki-Kurumi seemed to be the only personality about whom any definite traditions existed. Mr. Batchelor after having formerly rejected, had recently adopted the view that Oki-kurumi was the Japanese Yoshitsune, who went to Yezo towards the end of the 12th century. Yoshitsune was probably the first civiliser of the Ainos, although they themselves assert that he really robbed them of their books. This tradition is, however, probably simply an invention to explain why it is they do not have any books. Excepting these tales of Oki-kurumi and perhaps some legends bearing on cosmogony, there is nothing that can be regarded as historical until we come to traditions referring to comparatively recent events. Such, for instance, seem to be the story of a certain plague, and the account of a frightful massacre of the Ainos by the Japanese.

The Rev. E. R. Miller drew attention to one of Mr. Batchelor's notes in connection with a remark made by Mr. Meik, who had spoken of the Ainu woman as being ashamed of the tattooing of her lip. Mr. Batchelor, however, had mentioned that an Ainu woman put her hand before her mouth as a sign of respect. It was this action perhaps which Mr. Meik had seen.

Mr. Chamberlain was of opinion that the Aino woman was really proud of her lip adornment, which we thought so ugly. He knew indeed of one case in which an Aino girl of 7 or 8 years of age, contrary to the desire of her parents who had become so far enancipated, got herself tattooed, being apparently put to shame by her Aino companions of like age.

Tōkyō, April 18th, 1888.

A general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the College of Engineering, Tōkyō, on April 18th, 1888, at 4 p.m., Dr. Divers, F.R.S., in the Chair.

The minutes of last meeting were read and approved.

The Chairman, having expressed the regret which all must feel at the enforced absence of Mr. Aston, their President, from the meeting, called on the Corresponding Secretary to read the remarks which the President had hoped to deliver. The Corresponding Secretary read as follows:—"Before proceeding to the ordinary business of the meeting, it is my sad duty to give expression to the regret which is felt by this Society at the loss by death of one of its oldest, indeed one of its original, members—Mr. Russell Robertson. He was a man of solid attainments, but the powers of his mind were chiefly devoted to practical work connected with his position as H.B.M.'s Consul at Yokohama. The fruits of his studies are to be looked for rather in the admirable trade-reports compiled by him yearly, and in other similar papers, than in the Transactions of this Society. I speak only the language of literal fact and not of eulogium when I say that his equal as a British Consul has not been known in this country. We are nevertheless indebted to him for two important papers, one an account of the Caroline Islands, communicated by him although written by a different hand, and another, a very full and interesting description of the Bonin Islands. Mr. Robertson was also for some time a member of the Council of the Society, and, although I cannot bear personal testimony to the fact, I cannot doubt that the Society owed much to the sterling common sense which so eminently characterized him. Of our personal relations to him I cannot trust myself to speak. His manly, simple, modest character, free from every atom of pretension or affectation, had endeared him to many of us, and we feel that the words—the poor conventional words—in which our regrets are clothed are fraught with a far deeper sense than they usually bear, when they are used of Russell Robertson—*tam cari capitis*."

The election of Mr. A. B. Walford as a member of the Society was announced.

Dr. Knott then read a biographical note on Inō Chūkei, the great Japanese surveyor and cartographer.

A paper on *Jūjutsu* by the Rev. T. Lindsay and J. Kanō, Esq., was read by the former gentleman.

The Chairman, having thanked the authors for their interesting papers, the meeting adjourned to the large hall of the college, where Mr. Kanō gave some practical demonstrations of the art.

Tōkyō, May 16th, 1888.

A general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held on Wednesday, May 16th, 1888, in the Engineering College, Tōkyō, Rev. Dr. Amerman, Vice-President, in the Chair.

The minutes of last meeting were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary made the following announcements:—Dr. O. Hering and Mr. J. Kanō had been elected members of the Society. A list of old Spanish books bearing on Japan had been presented to the Society by the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires, Mr. Carrère, for publication. A letter had been received from Mr. Watanabe, President of the Imperial University, referring to the paper read by Dr. Knott at the last meeting, giving an account of the life and labours of Inō Chūkei, the Japanese Surveyor and Cartographer. It would interest the members of the Society to know that a monument was soon to be put up at Shiba in honour of Inō. A hope was expressed that members might see their way to aid the project materially by giving subscriptions, which would be received by the Secretary of the Imperial University or by the Secretary of the Society. The card issued to the members announcing the present meeting had advertised a paper by Mr. Hall "On the Phenomena of Mood in the Japanese Verb." Mr. Hall's recent removal to Shanghai had prevented him from putting his paper into fit form for presentation. The Council were, however, able to substitute for it a paper "On Chinese and Annamese," by Mr. E. H. Parker, which had lately come to hand. As this paper had no special reference to Japanese subjects, an abstract only of it would be read.

The Chairman then called on Dr. Knott to read the abstract of Mr. Parker's paper on "Chinese and Annamese."

Mr. Chamberlain then read a paper on "The Earliest Known Form of the Japanese Language," in the preparation of which he had been assisted by Mr. M. Ueda.

After some discussion, the Chairman thanked the authors in the name of the Society for their instructive papers.

The meeting then adjourned.

Tōkyō, June 6th, 1888.

A general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held on Wednesday, June 6th, 1888, in the Engineering College, Tōkyō, the Rev. Dr. Amerman, Vice-President, in the chair.

The minutes of last meeting were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary announced the election of Colgate Baker, Esq., and Major-General H. S. Palmer, R. E., as ordinary members of the Society. It was also announced that, owing to the illness of Professor Burton, his lecture on

"Sanitary Problems in Japan," which had been advertised for this meeting, could not be delivered; but that the Council were fortunate in being able to substitute for it a paper on "Christian Valley," by Professor Dixon, who had kindly agreed, on very short notice, to read it to the Society at that time.

Professor Dixon then proceeded to read his paper, which was illustrated by photographs of the rough tombstone in Christian Valley, of Christian Yashiki, of Christian Slope, and of the tomb of Father Guiseppo Chiara.

The Chairman, in thanking the author for his paper, remarked that Mr. Dixon deserved an extra vote of thanks for his kindness in reading it at a few hours' notice.

The meeting then adjourned.

Tōkyō, June 20th, 1888.

The annual meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held on Wednesday, 20th June, at 4 p.m., in the Physics Theatre of the Imperial College of Engineering. Rev. J. L. Amerman, D.D., in the chair. It was announced that the reprint of Vol. V., part 1, was already issued, and that the reprint of Vol. VI., part 2, would shortly appear. The report of the council for the year just ended was then read by the Corresponding Secretary, and adopted on the motion of Rev. W. J. White. The following office-bearers for the coming session were elected by ballot:—

PRESIDENT:—W. G. Aston, Esq.

VICE-PRESIDENTS:—Rev. Dr. Amerman (Tōkyō), F. S. James, Esq. (Yokohama).

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY:—B. H. Chamberlain, Esq.

RECORDING SECRETARY:—Dr. C. G. Knott, (Tōkyō).

RECORDING SECRETARY:—W. J. S. Shand, Esq. (Yokohama).

TREASURER:—M. N. Wyckoff, Esq.

LIBRARIAN:—Rev. J. Summers.

COUNCILLORS.

Rev. Dr. Cochrane.	J. H. Gubbins, Esq.
W. Denning, Esq.	N. Kanda, Esq.
Dr. E. Divers.	J. Kanō, Esq.
J. M. Dixon, Esq.	J. Milne, Esq.
Rev. Dr. Eby.	H. Watanabe, Esq.

A paper entitled "A Literary Lady of Old Japan," the joint production of the late Dr. Purcell, and of Mr. W. G. Aston, was read by Mr. Chamberlain.

In short discussion which followed, Mr. Chamberlain remarked on the great difficulty of the style of Sei Shōnagon's writings, and on the great variety of readings that existed;—indeed, the text was singularly corrupt. Her writings were full of minute descriptions of clothing, and often read like a French fashion paper. Another feminine trait was to be found at the close of a list of pleasant things enumerated in one of her essays: "How pleasant is the putting together of the bits of a torn letter!"

In reply to a question, by Mr. Odum, Mr. Chamberlain stated that Sei Shōnagon's writings must have remained in manuscript for many centuries after her death, probably until about 1600 A.D. An unusual number of MSS. of her works are extant.

The Report of the Council for the year just ended was then read by the Corresponding Secretary:—

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE SESSION OCTOBER, 1887—JUNE, 1888.

In coming before the Society, as usual at the close of the Session, the Council is glad to be able to report that the state of the Society's affairs is in all ways flourishing. The expenses have, it is true, been great this year, owing to the necessity for an unusual amount of reprinting, in addition to the printing of a new volume, which, when completed, will consist of two good-sized parts. Nevertheless the Treasurer's Report (Appendix C) shows a balance of \$458.96 on the credit side; and though there are some bills which will be presented for payment soon, there is about an equal sum of money owing to the Society, which will probably soon be collected.

The literary activity of the Society is evinced by the size of the new volume just alluded to, and by the originality of the papers composing it. The number of general meetings held during the Session and of papers read at those meetings is fourteen. The list of papers, as given in Appendix A, evidences the peculiar ardour with which the Society has thrown itself into the study of the Island of Yezo and its hitherto little-known aborigines, while at the same time there has been no falling off, but rather increased activity, in the researches instituted into subjects more specially Japanese, and particularly into the ancient history and language of the Japanese people.

With great sorrow the Council has to record the death of two of the Society's most valued members,—H. Pryer, Esq., in whom ornithology and the kindred zoological sciences have sustained an irreparable loss, and Russell Robertson, Esq., C.M.G., Her Britannic Majesty's Consul at Kanagawa, some time member of the Society's Council, and always one of the Society's most loyal supporters. Neither can we pass over without a word (though this Society did not count him among its members) the death of the octogenarian Japanese scholar, Dr. August Pfizmaier,

of Vienna, who did so much to render Japanese and Aino studies popular in Europe, and who obtained results which were wonderful indeed when we consider that he laboured under the disadvantage of never having personally visited Japan, nor acquired a colloquial knowledge of its language. Furthermore should be mentioned the fact of some half-dozen resignations of membership during the course of the session.

Leaving our losses and turning to our gains, the Council is happy to be able to announce the election of no less than twenty-six new members, while the increased interest felt in the Society's work by Orientalists and the public generally in Europe and America has been evidenced in the most practical of all manners by increased purchases of the Society's "Transactions," not only in the English-speaking countries, but likewise in Germany.

It should furthermore be noticed, before closing this report, that the Society now possesses that which was so earnestly desired for it by one of the most active of its past Presidents, viz., a local habitation as well as a name. The kind courtesy of H.E. Mr. H. Watanabe, President of the Imperial University, has enabled us during the past session not only to meet in the Imperial College of Engineering, but also to establish our library there. We are happy to be able to announce that H.E. Mr. Ōtori Keisuke, President of the Nobles' School, which is now removing to the premises of the College of Engineering, has consented to continue this favour, thereby enabling the Society to meet in one of the most central and convenient localities of the capital, and to throw open to the members a reading-room where the books and periodicals received by the Society have been arranged and catalogued in such a manner as greatly to increase their utility. Moreover, printed catalogues are in preparation, and copies will be distributed among the members. The Council has already expressed its warmest thanks both to Mr. Watanabe and to Mr. Ōtori Keisuke, being confident that in so doing it has but interpreted the sentiments of all those members who, being resident in Tōkyō, can avail themselves of the privilege thus offered.

APPENDIX A.

LIST OF PAPERS READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY DURING THE SESSION 1887-1888.

- "Persian Elements in Japanese Legends," by J. Edkins, D.D.
- "Ródriguez' System of Transliteration," by B. H. Chamberlain, Esq.
- "On the Ainu Term *Kamui*," by Rev. John Batchelor.
- "Reply to Mr. Batchelor on the Words *Kamui* and *Aino*," by B. H. Chamberlain, Esq.
- "Early Japanese History," by W. G. Aston, Esq.
- "The Japanese Education Society," by Walter Dening, Esq.
- "Round Yezo," by C. S. Meik, Esq.
- "Specimens of Ainu Folk-lore," by Rev. John Batchelor.
- "*Jūjutsu*, the Old *Samurai* Art of Fighting without Weapons," by Rev. T. Lindsay and J. Kanō, Esq.

- "Inō Chūkei, the Japanese Surveyor and Cartographer," by Dr. C. G. Knott.
"Chinese and Annamese," by E. H. Parker, Esq.
"The Earliest Known Form of the Japanese Language," by B. H. Chamberlain, Esq.
"Christian Valley," by J. M. Dixon, Esq.
"A Literary Lady of Old Japan," by W. G. Aston, Esq., and the late Dr. T. A. Purcell.

APPENDIX B.

LIST OF EXCHANGES.

- Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia.
Academy of Sciences of Finland (*Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicarum*).
Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India; *Journal*.
American Antiquarian and Oriental *Journal*.
American Chemical *Journal*.
American Geographical Society, New York, *Bulletin and Journal*.
American Oriental Society.
American Philological Association.
American Philosophical Society.
Annalen des K. K. Natur Hist. Hofmuseum, Wien.
Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.
Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien; *Mittheilungen*.
Asiatic Society of Bengal; *Journal and Proceedings*.
Australian Museum, Sydney.
Bataviaasch Genootschap; *Notulen*.
Bataviaasch Genootschap; *Tidjschrift*.
Bataviaasch Genootschap; *Verhandelingen*.
Boston Society of Natural History.
Bureau of Ethnology, Annual Reports, Washington.
Bureau of Education, Circulars of Information, Washington.
California Academy of Sciences.
China Review; Hongkong.
Chinese Recorder; Shanghai.
Cochinchine Française, *Excursions et Reconnaissances*, Saigon.
Cosmos; di Guido Cora, Turin.
Canadian Institute, Toronto, *Proceedings and Reports*.
Geographical Survey of India; *Records*.
Geological and Natural History Survey of Canada.
Handels Museum, Wien.
Harvard University, Museum of Comparative Zoology; *Bulletin*.
Imperial Russian Geographical Society; *Bulletin and Reports*, Moscow.
Imperial Society of the Friends of Natural Science (Moscow): Section of Anthropology and Ethnography, *Transactions*.

- Japan Weekly Mail, Yokohama.
Johns Hopkins University, Publications, Baltimore.
Journal Asiatique, Paris.
Kaiserliche Leopoldinische Carolinische Deutsche Akademie der Naturforscher
Verhandlungen, Nova Acta.
Mittheilungen des Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur-und Völkerkunde Ostasiens,
Tōkyō.
Mittheilungen des Vereins für Erdkunde zu Leipzig.
Mittheilungen des Ornithologischen Vereins in Wien.
Musée Guimet, Lyons, Annales et Revue, etc.
Museum of Comparative Zoology, Cambridge, Mass.
Numismatic and Antiquarian Society, Philadelphia.
Observatorio Astronómico Nacional de Takubaya, Anuario Mexico.
Oesterreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient.
Ornithologischer Verein in Wien.
Ofversigt af Finska Societeten.
Observatoire de Zi-ka-wei ; Bulletin des Observations, Mexico.
Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain ; Journal, etc.
Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay Branch ; Journal.
Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch ; Journal and Proceedings.
Royal Asiatic Society, China Branch ; Journal.
Royal Asiatic Society, Straits Branch ; Journal.
Royal Dublin Society ; Scientific Transactions.
Royal Geographical Society ; Proceedings.
Royal Society, London ; Proceedings.
Royal Society, New South Wales.
Royal Society of Tasmania.
Royal Society of Queensland.
Seismological Society of Japan, Transactions.
Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D.C. ; Reports, etc.
Sociedad Geografia de Madrid ; Boletin.
Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa, Boletin, Lisbon.
Société Académique Indo-Chinoise, Saigon.
Société de Géographie ; Bulletin et Compte Rendu des Séances, Paris.
Société des Etudes Japonaises, Chinoises, etc., Saigon.
Société d'Anthropologie de Paris ; Bulletins et Mémoires.
Société d'Ethnographie, Bulletin, Paris.
Société Neuchâteloise de Géographie, Bulletin, Neuchatel.
Société des Etudes Indo-Chinoises de Saigon ; Bulletin, Saigon.
Sydney, Council of Education, Report, Sydney.
United States Geological Survey.
Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Halle.

APPENDIX C.

ASIATIC SOCIETY in account with M. N. WYCKOFF.

Dr.		Cr.	
To R. Meiklejohn & Co. for printing.....	\$589.05	By Balance from last year.....	\$448.83
" Hakubunsha for printing	117.25	" Sales of Transactions	244.47
" Corresponding Secretary, Current Expenses	60.86	" Subscriptions of Resident Members	470.00
" Library Expenses.....	52.01	" Subscriptions of Non-Resident Members	33.00
" Treasurer, Current Expenses	7.05	" Subscriptions of Life Members	32.00
" F. H. Koehler, account balance.....	18.62	" Entrance Fees	75.00
Balance in hand	<u>\$844.84</u>		
	458.96		<u>\$1,303.30</u>
			<u>\$1,303.30</u>

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E. & O. E.

Respectfully submitted,

M. N. WYCKOFF, Hon. Treasurer.

Examined and found correct, 28th May, 1888.

ARTHUR LLOYD, }
H. A. HOWE, } Auditors.

Tokyo, May 28th, 1888.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

- Sir Rutherford Alcock, K.C.B., Athenæum Club, London.
Rear-Admiral W. Arthur, c/o Messrs. Hallett & Co., Trafalgar Square, London.
Professor Geo. E. Day, Yale College, New Haven, Conn., U. S. A.
Rev. Joseph Edkins, D.D., Peking.
A. W. Franks, British Museum.
Baron A. Nordenskjöld, Stockholm.
Professor J. J. Rein, Bonn-am-Rhein, Germany.
Ernest M. Satow, C.M.G., Montevideo.
Rev. E. W. Syle, D.D., Surbiton, Surrey, England.
Sir Thomas F. Wade, K.C.B., Athenæum Club, London.
Professor W. D. Whitney, New Haven, Conn., U. S. A.
-

LIFE MEMBERS.

- Anderson, F.R.C.S., W., St. Thomas' Hospital, London.
Bisset, F.L.S., J., care of Messrs. A. J. Macpherson & Co., 5 East India Avenue,
London, E. C.
Burty, Ph., 11 bis, Boulevard des Batignolles, Paris.
Carson, T. G., Bamfield, Coleraine, County Londonderry, Ireland.
Cooper, B.A., LL.B., C. J., Bromwich Grange, Worcester, England.
Dillon, E., 13 Upper Phillimore Gardens, Kensington, London, S.W.
Dixon, M.A., Rev. William Gray, 137 Victoria Parade, Fitzroy, Melbourne,
Australia.
Fearing, D., Newport, Rhode Island, U. S., A.
Gowland, W., 13 Upper Phillimore Gardens, Kensington, London, S. W.
Kinch, Edward, Agricultural College, Cirencester, England.
Lyman, Benjamin Smith, State Geological Survey Office, Philadelphia, Pa.,
U. S. A.
MacLagan, Robert, 9 Cadogan Place, Belgrave Square, London.
Napier, H. M., Glasgow, Scotland.
O'Neill, John, Trafalgar House, Selling, Faversham, Kent, England.
Parker, E. H., H. B. M.'s Consulate, Shanghai.
Tompkinson, M., Franche Hall, near Kidderminster, England.

ORDINARY MEMBERS.

- Amerman, D.D., Rev. Jas. L., 19 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
 Andrews, Rev. Walter, Hakodate.
 Arrivet, J. B., Koishikawa, Kanatomi-chō, Tōkyō.
 Aston, M.A. W. G., Villa Malbose, Grasse, Alpes Maritimes, France.
 Atkinson, B. Sc., R. W., Cardiff, Wales.
 Baelz, M.D., E., Imperial University, Tōkyō.
 Baker, Colgate, Kōbe.
 Batchelor, Rev. J., Hakodate.
 Bickersteth, Right Reverend Bishop, Tōkyō.
 Bigelow, Dr. W. S., 6 Hongō, Kaga Yashiki, Tōkyō.
 Bonar, H., c/o H. S. King & Co., London.
 Booth, Rev. E. S., 178 Bluff, Yokohama.
 Brandram, Rev. J. B., Kumamoto.
 Brauns, Prof. Dr. D., Halle University, Germany.
 Brinkley, R.A., Capt. Frank, 50, Naka Rokubanchō, Tōkyō.
 Brown, A. R., Nippon Yusen Kaisha, Tōkyō.
 Brown, Jr., Matthew, 6 Yokohama.
 Burton, W. K., Imperial University, Tōkyō.
 Carrère, H. E. Don Pedro de, Spanish Legation, Tōkyō.
 Center, Alex., 4-A Yokohama.
 Chamberlain, B. H., 19, Akasaka Daimachi, Tōkyō.
 Clarke-Thornhill, T. B., H.B.M.'s Legation, Tōkyō.
 Clement, E. W., Mito.
 Cochran, D.D., Rev. G., 13 Higashi Toriizaka-machi, Azabu, Tōkyō.
 Cocking, S., 55 Yokohama.
 Conder, J., Government Architect, Tōkyō.
 Cruickshank, W. J., 85 Yokohama.
 Dautremere, J., French Legation, Tōkyō.
 De Becker, J. E., 142 Bluff, Yokohama.
 Dening, Walter, 15, Hongō, Masago-chō, Tōkyō.
 Dietz, F., 70, Yokohama.
 Divers, M.D., F.R.S., Edward, Imperial University, Tōkyō.
 Dixon, M.A., F.R.S.E., James Main, 85, Miyogadani, Koishikawa, Tōkyō.
 Du Bois, Dr. Francis, c/o Brown, Shipley & Co., London.
 Duer, Yeend, Shanghai.
 Eaves, Rev. Geo., 18 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
 Eby, D.D., Rev. C. S., 18 Kasumi-chō, Azabu, Tōkyō.
 Ewing, B. Sc., F.R.S., J. A., University College, Dundee, Scotland.
 Fardel, C. L., Victoria School, Yokohama.
 Favre-Brandt, J., 145 Bluff, Yokohama.
 Fenollosa, Prof. E., Imperial University, Tōkyō.

- Flowers, Marcus, New Club, Cheltenham, England.
Fraser, J. A., 143 Yokohama.
Gardiner, J. McD., 40 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
Gay, A. O., 2 Yokohama.
Georgeson, M. Sc., C. C., Komaba, Tōkyō.
Giussani, C., 90-B Yokohama.
Glover, T. B., 53 Shiba Sannai, Tōkyō.
Goodrich, J. K., Kōbe.
Green, James, 118 Concession, Kōbe.
Green, Rev. C. W., Hakodate.
Greene, Rev. Dr. D. C., Kyōto.
Gregory, G. E., 1 Hikawachō, Akasaka, Tōkyō.
Gribble, Henry, 66 Pine Street, New York.
Griffiths, E. A., H.B.M.'s Legation, Tōkyō.
Gring, Rev. Ambrose D., c/o Daniel Gring, Lancaster, Penn., U. S. A.
Groom, A. H., 35 Yokohama.
Gubbins, J. H., H. B. M.'s Legation, Tōkyō.
Hall, J. C., H.B.M. Consulate, Shanghai.
Hall, Frank, Elmira, Chemung Co., New York.
Hammen, N. J., Judge, H.B.M.'s Consulate, Yokohama.
Hardie, Rev., A., Gakushuin, Tōkyō.
Hattori Ichizō, Educational Department, Tōkyō.
Hausknecht, Dr. E., Imperial University, Tōkyō.
Hellyer, T. W., 210 Yokohama.
Hering, Dr. O., 28, Kōjimachi, Hirakawa-chō, 5 chōme, Tōkyō.
Hepburn, M.D., LL.D., J. C., 245 Bluff, Yokohama.
Hinton, C. H., Victoria School, Yokohama.
Hubbard, Hon. R. B., U. S. Legation, Tōkyō.
Hunt, H. J., 62 Concession, Kōbe.
Irwin, R. W., 5 Kiridōshi, Sakae-chō, Shiba, Tōkyō.
Isawa, S., Educational Department, Tōkyō.
James, F. S., 142 Yokohama.
James, Capt. J. M., 416 Minami Bamba, Shinagawa, Tōkyō.
Jamieson, G., H. B. M.'s Consulate, Yokohama.
Jaudon, Peyton, 2 Sannen-chō, Tōkyō.
Kanda, Naibu, Imperial University, Tōkyō.
Kanō, J. I., Kōjimachi, Fujimichō, 1 chōme, Tōkyō.
Keil, O., 12 Yokohama.
Kenny, W., H.B.M.'s Legation, Tōkiō.
Kirby, J. R., 8 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
Kirkwood, M., Nakano-chō, Azabu, Tōkyō.
Knott, D.Sc., F.R.S.E., Cargill G., Imperial University, Tōkyō.

- Knox, Rev. Dr. G. W., c/o Dr. Imbrie, 16 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
Lambert, E. B., Kyōtō.
Larcom, A., Foreign Office, London.
Lay, A. H., H.B.M.'s Legation, Tōkyō.
Lindsay, Rev. Thomas.
Lloyd, Rev. A., Keiō Gijiku, Mita, Tōkyō.
Longford, J. H., H.B.M.'s Vice-Consulate, Tōkyō.
Lowell, Percival, 40 Water St., Boston, Mass., U. S. A.
Macdonald, Dr. Davidson, 5, Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
Macnab, A. J., Nishi-Kōbai-chō, Surugadai, Tōkyō.
MacNair, Rev. T. M., Meiji Gakuin, Shirokane, Tōkyō.
Malan, Rev. C. S., West Cliff Hall, Bournemouth, England.
Marshall, Prof. D. H., Queen's College, Kingston, Canada.
Masujima, R., 55 Zaimoku-chō, Azabu, Tōkyō.
Mayet, Dr. P., 12 Yamashiro-chō, Kyōbashi, Tōkyō.
McCauley, Rev. James, 15 Sankōzaka, Shirokane, Tōkyō.
Meik, C. S., Hokkaidō-chō, Sapporo, Yezo.
Michaelis, Dr. G., 21 Sannai-zaka, Ichigaya, Tōkyō.
Miller, Rev. E. Rothesay, Morioka, Iwate ken.
Milne, F.G.S., F.R.S., John, Imperial University, Tōkyō.
Morse, W. H., 178 Yokohama.
Münter, Captain, Shanghai.
Nakamura, Prof. M., Koishikawa, 11 Edogawa-chō, Dōjinsha, Tōkyō.
Odlum, E., Cobourg, Ontario, Canada.
Palmer, R.E., Maj. Gen. H. S., 41 Imai-chō, Azabu, Tōkyō.
Piggott, F., 2 Ichibei Machi, Azabu, Tōkyō.
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PERSIAN ELEMENTS IN JAPANESE LEGENDS.

By J. EDKINS, D.D.

[*Read October 12, 1887.*]

There are several resemblances between the Persian religion and that of Japan, which I now proceed partially to point out.

1. Japan has a Mithras, but a female one. Amaterasu, the Sun-goddess, is either of purely native creation, or the ancient Japanese were taught by visitors from the continent to worship the sun, and to frame national legends which exalt the name, origin and achievements of "her who shines (terasu) from heaven" (ama).

2. In the old Parseeism the departments of nature, metal, fire, water, trees, earth, each had an angel. Spiegel, in the "Schaff Herzog Encyclopædia," article Parseeism, says the spirits first created by Ormuzd were "Bahman, protector of all living beings, Ardibehisht, spirit of fire, Sharevar, spirit of metals, Spendarmat, spirit of earth, Chordad, spirit of water, Amerdad, spirit of trees." They were created to aid Ormuzd in governing. Let Japanese legends be consulted. In the "Nihon Shoki" we find a wood god, a water god, a fire god, a wind god, an earth god, a metal god, a sea god, a mountain god, all created by Izanami and Izanagi. These divinities were a creating pair arrived at, as Mr. Griffis says in the same Encyclopædia, article Shintō, by evolution through several pairs of gods. There were several legends, and I suggest that a Persian element exists in them. The metal god is less frequently mentioned than the other elemental divinities of Japan, but it exists on an equal footing with the rest in China, where the spirits of the five elements are worshipped as gods of the highest grade (帝 *tì*), and have their place assigned as north, south, east, west, and central. The Persians viewed the five elements as gods to be adored. The Chinese viewed them not

only as gods to be adored, but as principles influencing all nature, as powers controlling the human body and as visible essences in the five planets.

3. The Japanese dedicate white horses to the goddess of the sun. Strabo mentions an ancient custom of sacrificing white horses to the sun, but we are without details on this point.

4. In the legend of creation and the order in which creation was made, there is a resemblance in Japanese and Persian ideas. The legends of the Japanese indicate no philosophical power: they show an unbridled imagination and an admiration for nature of a rough kind. The only philosophical ideas in these legends are of obviously Chinese origin. But we observe a lively exercise of the imagination in these tales of long ago, and they exhibit a peculiar type of mythological invention. Whence did it come? Was it only the effect of the Inland Sea, the boundless ocean, the volcanoes, the mighty Fujiyama, the many lively harbours and nooks of hill and lake scenery working on an impressionable nation just arrived from Corea? A nation in its infancy was here wandering in Wonderland, and the child's imagination can do much in weaving marvellous creation out of the wonders which the world presents to the eye and ear. But in the present instance this does not seem sufficient to account for what we see. We have a progressive creation of angels and men and the world they occupy. Creation takes an evolutionary form, and yet there is the distinct ascription of creation to divine beings. It is well worth our while to notice, too, the early creation of spirits in seven generations, finishing with Izanami and Izanagi. One legend creates heaven and earth first, and then these spirits. Another says that the spirits appeared at the first separation between heaven and earth. After the creation of Japan, Tsushima and other islands, eight in all, the sea was created, then the rivers, then the mountains, then tree gods, and lastly gods of grass and herbs. In proceeding to describe the creation of the sun, the legend-maker draws particular attention to this divinity. Then he describes the appearance of the moon and the birth of Hiruko, a son who causes sorrow to his divine parents.

Possibly if there is hidden in these legends the teaching of followers of the Persian religion, it may be in some more than others. Thus we have in the 12th leaf of the 1st chapter of the "Nihongi" or "Yamato-

fumi no maki," the change of *iki* or breath into the spirit of wind. Then the sea god, the mountain god, the wood god, the earth god and the fire god appear. Here the names of the elements suggest that the Japanese had help from some strangers who knew the philosophy of the five elements. Otherwise it is hard to explain how they should have the same five elements as the Parsees, and all in the form of divinities.

The order of creation by Ormuzd in the old Persian books was : spirits, heaven, water, earth, trees, cattle, man. Creation continued for three thousand years.

5. There is in the Shintō and Parsee religions an under-world of darkness where departed spirits reside. In the visit of Izanagi to *Yomi*, the Hades of Shintō, as described by Mr. Satow in the "Revival of Pure Shintō,"¹ we perceive a resemblance to the Legend of Ishtar descending to Hades, translated by H. F. Talbot, F. R. S., in "Records of the Past," Vol I. It is an Assyrian legend ; and from it the Greek legend of Adonis entrusted by Aphrodite to Persephone, Queen of the lower world, may have been formed, since Ishtar corresponds to Aphrodite and to Venus. The Queen of Hades, Proserpina or Persephone, becomes Ninkigal in the Assyrian story. The Assyrian Hades has seven gates, through each of which in succession Ishtar is received on her way to see the Queen. After the waters of life had been poured out for Ishtar, she was dismissed through the same gates. In Parseeism the under-world is represented as depths of darkness, above which is the bridge of Paradise. When the souls of the departed pass along this bridge, their deeds are weighed by the angel of justice. If the evil deeds are heaviest, the soul tumbles into the depths of darkness to be tormented there by Ahriman and the Devs till the day of judgment. In the Japanese story, Izanagi and Izanami are the Tammuz and Adonis of the Syrian legend.

In the Tso chwen (佐傳) of the Chinese, we have an echo of the same story in the 6th page of Legge's Classics, Vol. V. A certain duke had taken an oath in B.C. 721 that he would not see his mother again till he met her under the "yellow fountain." He had no way of evading the fulfilment of this oath, till a counsellor persuaded him to dig a deep

¹ "Transactions of the Asiat. Soc. of Japan," Vol. III, Appendix.

passage underground till he reached a spring of water. Here he met his mother, and both sang snatches of songs to express their joy at meeting. This is the first instance of the occurrence in Chinese of the phrase "yellow fountains" for the Hades of departed souls. It shows that, as early as B.C. 721, the Chinese had received from the west the notion of departed souls meeting in a future state. Subsequently the Japanese adopted the Chinese "yellow fountain" to express their *yomi*. As to the word *yomi*, there is no apparent objection to our taking it to be the word 陰 *yim*, "darkness," in Chinese, and *tàn*, "hell," in Mongol.

6. In the Parsee doctrine that the five elements are to be kept pure, we see the possible origin of Shintō usages and legends in regard to purification. Mr. Satow says, in "Revival of Pure Shintō," page 78, that the god of fire hates impurity. Izanami was afraid to return to the world of day, because she was defiled by eating food which had been cooked with unclean fire and might offend the god. In casting metal there will be a failure if the metal is not pure. Izanagi, on returning to earth, hastened to wash himself in the sea from the foulness he had contracted in *yomi*. The pollution which he washed away produced two gods, whose names Mr. Satow gives. In Parseeism the five gods of the five elements keep the elements over which they rule, pure from contamination. The good Parsee must keep himself always clean, especially from the contamination of a corpse.

The preceding six resemblances between the Shintō and Parsee legends and traditions will be sufficient for the present purpose, if it can be shown that the Persian religion spread much in eastern Asia in former times.

In the Tso chwen (Legge's Chinese Classics, Vol. V., p. 176) it is said, "the Viscount of Tseng came too late for the covenant in T'sau. Being fearful probably of the consequences, he followed at least some of the covenanters to Choo, and would appear there to have taken the covenant. This did not however avail to save him from a terrible fate." "The people of Choo seized him and used him as a victim." Tso remarked on this statement in the Confucian history, "the duke of Sung induced duke Wen of Choo to sacrifice the Viscount of Tseng at an altar on the bank of the Suy to awe and draw to him the wild tribes of the east." Further on it is said that the victim was offered to an irregular

spirit. Tu Yü says that the altar belonged to the Persian religion, or, as he calls it, the *Hien shen* or god of heaven adored there by the eastern barbarians. In the "Kwang yü" the *Hien shen* is called a foreign god.² Later Chinese critics agree in the opinion that this was the Persian religion. This instance of human sacrifice belongs to the year B.C. 640. The river Sui is in the province of Honan, and the barbarians said to have honoured the Persian god were the Tung yi of Shantung bordering on the Yellow Sea.

There are many allusions in Chinese History to the Persian religion. Thus in the History of the Tang dynasty (T'ang shu), in the notice of Khoten near Kashgar, it is said the people are fond of the Persian worship 喜事祇神. The same worship prevailed in the Kangeha Kingdom, as we learn in the chapter, Account of the Western Kingdom. By this Kingdom is meant Khokand and Khiva. The Turks were at that time powerful in Ili, and they also worshiped the *Hien shen*. They did so without temples and they had human sacrifices. These statements are found in Yeu yang tsa tsu, a work by a T'ang dynasty author. The same writer says that the people of the Kingdom called 孝億 Hian yik were unacquainted with Buddhism and followed the Persian worship. They had three hundred altars of this religion, and yet their kingdom was not more than a thousand miles in circuit. In the Liao History we learn that the emperor, at the end of the year, offered sacrifices to the god of fire. Salt and mutton fat were used. These offerings were burnt in an iron furnace. At the same time wizards chanted songs in praise of the god. The emperor prostrated himself before the fire, the emblem of the god. This kingdom embraced Manchuria and the Chinese province of Chili, and the time when this worship of fire was, as thus recorded, a part of the Imperial ceremonial, was the eleventh century.

In the first and second centuries we find the doctrine of the continued existence of the soul extending in China and in Manchuria in advance of the period when the Buddhist missionaries arrived in these regions teaching a future state. In China the mountain in Shantung known as Tai shan came to be known as the favourite residence of a god

²In the "Shwo wen" it is said that in Kwan chung heaven is called *hien*. Kwanchung seems to mean Chinese Turkestan.

who had under his jurisdiction the souls of men, and at death men's souls were believed to go there.⁸ This is the reason that in the present day Chinese build temples to the god of the eastern mountain outside of the east gate of their cities, and that in them the seventy-two courts of judgment for all the dead are represented in painted clay. The Manchurian people of the same age, called Uhwan or Owan, believed that souls went to the Red Mountains some thousands of miles north-west of their home in Liau tung. The mountains meant may have been the Altaï mountains, in the vicinity of which the Turkish and Indo-European races then residing there would have no religious guides so zealous as the Persians. It is said of the Owan people (烏桓) that they had the doors of their tents to the east in order to face the sun. Also they sang joyful hymns at the death of persons, not regarding them as having suffered a misfortune in dying, and firmly believing them to be still living; they burned their favourite horses, clothing and other possessions, together with a well-fattened dog, which was led with a many-coloured silk string and otherwise decorated with elegant silk trappings. This Manchurian nation, so near Japan, was accustomed to worship at that time heaven, earth, the sun and moon, the stars, rivers, mountains and the souls of ancestors. In sacrificing to men of high reputation, they burned the oxen and sheep used as victims when the act of offering was completed.

Among the ancient usages of the Chinese, the worship of the god of fire is very prominent. The worship of the sun preceded, it. But in the Chow dynasty there was a special worship of fire, and there was probably a like order of evolution in Persia. The worship of the powers of nature preceded the worship of fire, as a pure monotheism preceded the worship of the gods of the elements. The Persian and the Chinese religions were both branches of the Old Asiatic religion, which ultimately becomes identical with that of Babylonia and that of the first chapters of the Book of Genesis. In worshipping the elements, the Chinese were contented with adoring the spirits of the sun and moon, the mountains and rivers, without any biographic or individualistic detail. The Persians

⁸"Heu Han Shu" 後漢書 90, 1. The god of the mountain is, in the modern Taoist hell of China, made one of the ten judges before whom the dead appear for judgment.

thought of the spirits of the elements as great angels clothed with characteristic attributes; but the Chinese gods of the wind, of rain, of thunder, in the Chow dynasty, are to be viewed the same as the Persian, though looked on by the people as passionless divinities. Among the Chinese gods of the Chow dynasty was the god of fire, the kitchen god, the domestic divinity of every household. In this fire worship of the Chinese, accompanied in aftertimes with bonfires and fire-works, and the burning of paper houses, money, clothing, horses, and the like, we see partly the fruit of native invention, and partly the effect of Tartar and Persian notions connected with fire worship. Probably the modern custom of burning paper for the dead is more foreign in its origin than native; so we may suppose that the notions on a future state prevailing among the Chinese anterior to Buddhism were also more indebted for their origin to foreign religious ideas than to native Confucian thought.

There is another book, 西溪叢語 ("Si hi tsung yü"), by Yau kwan of the Sung dynasty. It says that "the god intended by the Hien shen is 摩醯首羅," Mahaishwara, the supreme God according to the opinions of the later Hindoos as occurring in Buddhist books, where it is translated by the words 大自在天 *ta tsü tsai t'en*, "the self-existent one." Yau kwan further says the Hien Shen was taught by Zoroaster the Persian (蘇魯支 Zerdusht), who had a pupil 玄真 Huien chen. Having become familiar with his master's system, he became patriarch 天總長 in Persia. He came afterwards to China to propagate his religion, and in the eastern capital (Kai feng fu) had a temple called the Hien Shen Miao in the Ning Yuen street. On a monument there erected, it is said that in the Kang kingdom there is a god called Hien, and in the whole extent of the kingdom there are 火天祇祠 (temples for the worship of fire). This is the same as the Kang cha above-mentioned, and refers to Bokhara and Khiva. In China in the ninth century the Persian religion was persecuted; and in the year 845 more than sixty of their monasteries were condemned to be closed and the monks compelled to return to ordinary life.

The Persians, beginning with monotheism we may suppose, drew from the Babylonians a dual philosophy and the teaching of a physical theory of five elements. This would be in the third millenium before Christ; and as early as this there would probably be schools of instruction in the Bokhara country, which would have some effect on the usages

and beliefs of neighbouring nations. At any rate at that time the Chinese came to know the arts of writing and the observation of the stars. The Persians proceeded to weave a mythology, of which Ormuzd and Ahriman were the chief personages. Ormuzd the creator reigns among a multitude of angels whom he made. We see in the Chinese worship of *Shén* (神) that at that time in China also a like step had been taken, by which the various parts of nature were believed to be governed by spirits and to represent and exemplify the nature of their activity. We see the beginning of a dual philosophy at this time in the "Yi ching" of China, and a philosophy of the elements in that work and in the remaining documents of the Hia dynasty. At the end of the second millenium before Christ we find the Chinese studying and expanding the dual philosophy, and acquiring a great accession of literary power, of legislative thought, and of scientific progress. Some centuries after, the future life,—evidently as a Persian doctrine,—creeps in unobserved, and we learn that the Persian religion is propagated among the barbarous tribes of eastern China in the horrible form of human sacrifices. The idea of the future life becomes more distinct, and by the beginning of the Christian era it is widely spread in China and Tartary. It is beyond doubt that the agency of propagation would be in the first instance the priests of the Persian religion, physicians and workers of enchantments, who, by the cures they could perform and the science they possessed, as well as by divination and other arts, ingratiated themselves with the chiefs of tribes wherever they went. At this point the Japanese legends present themselves as a further contribution to our knowledge of the effects of the Persian propaganda in the beautiful islands lying to the east of the continent. They belong to different periods. The earlier may have arisen four or five centuries before Christ; the later, especially those containing doctrines of Chinese cosmogony and philosophy, would enter Japan with the art of writing in the third or fourth century after Christ. Mr. Satow places the first committal to writing of the "Kojiki" and the "Nihongi" in the eighth century.

The Asiatic cosmogonies have all originated in the Babylonian and Biblical account of creation and the first history of the human race. It is a matter of extreme interest to find that, just as the Japanese language is distinctly akin to the language of the continent, so it is

with the legends which profess to describe the origin of the world and of the Japanese islands and population. After the decipherment of the tablets of the creation unearthed from Babylonian mounds, we ought no longer to hesitate to regard the first chapters of Genesis and the first faith of the Babylonians as in general accord. It is quite possible to shew in the same way that the religious ideas of Persia and Mesopotamia had a powerful effect in India, and in fact form the basis of the mythology and cosmogony of Brahmanism and Buddhism.

From the Laws of Manu it appears that the Hindoos looked on the elements, at a date about B.C. 1000, as five, namely, ether, air, fire, water and earth. As this agrees nearly with the four elements as taught by the early Greek philosophers before Socrates, and by Plato and Aristotle, we may assign two groups of elements to western Asia, of which the Hindoos and the Greeks adopted one, and the Persians and Chinese the other. The Zeudavesta mentions, near the beginning, the cities of Balkh and Mero, as well as some in Media. Tradition assigns Zoroaster to Bactria. Thus we may infer that the philosophy of the five elements reached China from Bactria, as the Buddhist group of elements (which is the same as the Greek) was certainly imported into China from India.

Mr. Satow says, at the end of his very valuable article on Shintō, "the most effectual means of conducting the investigation would be a comparison of the legends in the "Kojiki" and "Nihongi" and the rites and ceremonies of the "Yengishiki" with what is known of other ancient religions."

RODRIGUEZ' SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION.

BY BASIL HALL CHAMBERLAIN.

[*Read October 12, 1887.*]

We suffer in Japan from the want of old books of reference, even of books referring to Japan itself. I therefore greatly appreciated the courtesy of the Fathers of the Société des Missions Etrangères in permitting me to examine a copy of Rodriguez' Japanese Grammar in the original Portuguese. The original manuscript of this work is (or was till the year 1865) in the possession of a British nobleman, Lord Lindsay. The copy, which I had the advantage of perusing some months ago, was made in Paris by two French priests and collated by the well-known Japanese scholar, Monsieur Léon Pagès, by whom it was entrusted to the care of Monseigneur Osouf, the Present Aspostolic Vicar of North Japan, with a view to the possibility of some practical use to students from a new edition of the work. The plan of issuing a new edition was (as I think, wisely) abandoned. But though no longer of much practical use at a time when Hoffmann, Aston, Satow, Imbrie and others have been enabled by favourable circumstances to publish works more consonant with modern requirements, the grammar of the old seventeenth century Jesuit is still a mine of interest to the theoretical student of the language. Various things might be said in connection with it. For instance, we might dwell on the curious information it gives us concerning the state of the colloquial speech of the epoch at which it was composed, or we might enlarge on the terminology used, and show, among other things, that it is to Rodriguez that Japanese grammar owes the convenient term "Postposition." But the only point to which I would direct your attention to-day is its system of transliteration.

The French edition of Rodriguez, printed in 1825, is utterly untrustworthy on this point. For the editor (Landresse) has not only altered the spelling so as to suit French usage, but has tampered with it in other ways.

Transliteration is a subject which must always be felt to be important to all students of the Japanese language. During the last two or three years we have heard particularly much about it, à propos of the Romanisation Society. Now the peculiar interest of the original Portuguese draft of Father Rodriguez' Grammar is that it shows conclusively that the pronunciation of his time scarcely differed at all from that of the present day. A favourite argument with those who advocate a historical spelling, with those who wish us to write, for instance, *tuti* for *tsuchi*, "earth"; "*tiya*" for "*cha*," "tea"; "*sisi*" for "*shishi*," "lion," etc., is that the pronunciation of the syllables ツ as *tsu*, チ as *chi*, チ ㇿ as *cha*, シ as *shi*, etc., is but a recent and unimportant innovation. Well, this innovation is at least 283 years old! If allowance be made for the fact that Rodriguez took Portuguese, and that Dr. Hepburn and the Romanisation Society take English consonantal usage as the standard of transliteration, and for the further fact that Rodriguez took the Nagasaki, and that Dr. Hepburn and the Romanisation Society take the Tōkyō pronunciation as the standard to be transliterated, the two orthographies of the disputed series are identical. Where Dr. Hepburn has

サ	シ	ス	セ	ソ
sa	shi	su	se	so
タ	チ	ツ	テ	ト
ta	chi	tsu	te	to

Rodriguez has

sa	xi	su	xe	so
ta	chi	tçu	te	to

Now Portuguese *x*=English *sh*. Rodriguez' *s* series therefore agrees with Hepburn's, except in so far as *se* is *she* (*xe*), as still pronounced by the Nagasaki people. Rodriguez moreover adds a note to say that ㇿ is pronounced *se* in the east of the Empire, so that the Yedo pronunciation of those days was the same as that now current. In the *t* series there is absolute identity, Portuguese *ç* being equivalent to English *s*.

Rodriguez specially mentions the syllables *xa*, *xo*, *xu* (i.e. *sha*, *sho*, *shu*,) representing the *kana* combinations シヤ, シヨ, シユ, and *cha*, *cho*, *chu*, representing チャ, チョ, チュ. His way of writing the corresponding *nigori*'ed syllables shows the same close agreement with the pronunciation of the present day, Dr. Hepburn's *j* being represented by (French) *j* for the *s* series, and for the *t* series by *g* directed to be pronounced as in Italian, i.e. like English *j*. *Tsu* similarly becomes *dzu*, precisely as in the second edition of Hepburn's dictionary, while *su* becomes *zu*, a distinction which, though not usually made by modern transliterators, can still be perceived in the pronunciation of some careful speakers. Nor is the absence of the syllables *ti* and *di*, *tu* and *du*, *si* and *zi* to be simply *inferred* from the spelling which Rodriguez adopts. He expressly states, and he returns to the statement more than once, that those sounds are not found in the language, but are replaced by *chi*, *gi* (our *ji*), *tsu* (our *tsu*), *dzu*, *xi* (our *shi*), and *ji*. Nothing in the world could be more explicit.

In the *f* series alone does Rodriguez' usage differ from that with which we are familiar. He spells this series consistently with an *f*, viz.:

ハ	ヒ	フ	ヘ	ホ
<i>fa</i>	<i>fi</i>	<i>fu</i>	<i>fe</i>	<i>fo</i>

where Hepburn, the Romanisation Society and our own ears give us

<i>ha</i>	<i>hi</i>	<i>fu</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>ho</i> .
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But even here the difference is more apparent than real; for Rodriguez learnt his Japanese at Nagasaki, where, even at the present day, people sound an *f* where the inhabitants of Central and Eastern Japan sound an *h*. And to leave no doubt on the question, Rodriguez' Spanish successor Collado, whose "Dictionarium Linguae Japonicæ" and "Ars Grammaticæ Japonicæ Linguae" were published at Rome in 1682, expressly states that the Nagasaki *f* was already then pronounced *h* in certain provinces.

A consideration of the vowel series and of the *y* and *w* series brings us to a similar conclusion. Rodriguez, in common with other early Catholic writers, wrote *v* for *u*. Naturally enough, there being no *w* in Portuguese or in any of the languages of Southern Europe, he used this same *u* (written *v*) to represent the closely similar, though not identical, sound which we are enabled, by the greater fullness of our English alphabet, to distinguish by means of the letter *w*. Thus he has *va* for *ua* or *wa*, and *vo* for *uo* or *wo*.

The distinction originally obtaining between \asymp and \approx (*ye* and *we*) had already vanished in Rodriguez' time, as we see from his transcription of both these *kana* letters by the simple Roman letter *e*. Indeed the fact of the coalescence of *ye* and *we* at a considerably earlier period is known to us independently from Japanese sources. Similarly Rodriguez admits only one sound of the *i* series (originally イ *i*, and ヰ *wi*) which he writes *i*, and one of the *u* series, which he writes *v* when it occurs alone or before the vowels *a* and *o*, as already stated. It seems strange that his French editor, Landresse, should not have perceived that the *v* (*u*) was to be *sounded* as a vowel, not as a consonant. Instead of perceiving and explaining this, Landresse confirmed European investigators in the erroneous idea that the Japanese language possesses the letter *v*, a consonant which it is almost impossible to get modern Japanese organs to form, and which there is no good reason to suppose that the language ever possessed in the past.

What I would suggest as the result of these considerations, is that the advocates of the phonetic spelling of Japanese may claim, as against the historical spellers, that the phonetic spelling itself has no mean antiquity to boast of. It is itself historical as well as phonetic. The study of Rodriguez may also help us to repel another taunt, which is that we have been misled by English analogies, that for instance Japanese シ and ツ are not exactly English *shi* and *tsu*, and might therefore as well be written *si* and *tu*. Now doubtless Japanese シ is not exactly English *shi*, nor Japanese ツ English *tsu*. No two nations pronounce sounds *exactly* in the same manner. Indeed it is probable that no two individuals do so, just as no two watches keep exactly the same time, and no two colours exactly match. The already quoted Spanish priest Collado, writing in 1632, becomes quite pathetic over the difficulty of pronouncing *ts* (or, as he writes it, *tq*) correctly. The best means he can bethink himself of, is to advise students to pray to Almighty God to guide their lips aright! But he adds (what is still true at the present day) that, of the two elements of the consonantal compound, the sibilant is heard more distinctly than the dental. Granting, however, the impossibility of establishing complete identity between the phonetic units of any two countries, the fact that the chief authority, writing two hundred and eighty-three years ago in a language totally distinct from

English, uses letters as nearly approximating to the English *shi* and *tsu* as any written signs can be made to approximate, shows that *shi* and *tsu* were then and are now the Roman letters most appropriate for transcribing Japanese し and す, if our object is to write phonetically with English consonantal usage as the standard. And if our object is not to write phonetically, what is it? Doubtless it would be a little easier to learn the paradigms of some of the Japanese verbs, if the terminations of Japanese sounds were more regular than they actually are. Thus the classical past of *kurasu* would look easier to a beginner, if it were *kurasitu* than it does now as *kurashitsu*. But it *is* pronounced *kurashitsu* now, and it was pronounced in exactly the same manner two hundred and eighty-three years ago, *teste* Rodriguez' orthography *curasaitu*, which (substituting English usage for Portuguese) represents *kurashitsu* letter for letter;—and that Rodriguez had no specially and viciously constituted ear, is proved by the agreement of his directions for pronunciation with those of the Spaniard Collado who wrote twenty-nine years later. That it is not only Englishmen who, at the present day, perceive し to resemble *shi* rather than *si*, す to resemble *tsu* rather than *tu*, etc., is proved by the spelling of Japanese current among the French community in Japan. Frenchmen resident here spell シンブン as *chimoun*, すき as *tsouki*, and so on, showing that their ears recognize exactly the same sounds as ours do. The German residents have, for the most part, followed Hepburn without change, as a fair representation of the sounds they hear.

So far, then, as the actual pronunciation of the living language, as taken from the lips of the natives, is concerned, the so-called corruption of *f* into *h*, of *t* into *ts* and *ch*, and of *s* into *sh* has existed ever since the time when Europeans first began to reside in Japan. Those who came to Japan in 1603 heard exactly the same sounds as do those who come to Japan in 1887. It was reserved for the systematisers of a later date to discover that these corruptions *were* corruptions, and to suggest that, theoretically speaking, certain sounds ought to be certain other sounds which they are not.

The question then is: are we to transliterate actual Japanese, or are we to transliterate a sort of artificial Japanese? Some eminent scholars in Europe would have us believe the latter plan to be the more

scientific of the two. For my own part, I cannot help thinking that it is more scientific, as well as more practically useful, to represent things as they are, rather than as they might, could, should, or ought to be. Moreover, if we once begin to spell historically, why stop half-way? The regularisation of the *s*, *t* and *f* series is by no means all. In order to obtain a picture of the earliest state of the Japanese language to which justifiable inference may lead us back, we must be much more radical in our departure from modern pronunciation. We must reinstate all the omitted *w*'s of which the old *kana* spelling has preserved the remembrance, e. g. in [*w*]eru, "to grave;" [*w*]ido, "a well;" "[*w*]onna," "a woman;" and the omitted *y*'s as in *o* [*y*]iru, "to grow old," which the *kana* spelling has not preserved, but which etymological reasons demand. We must strike out all the *f*'s and *h*'s, and put *p*'s in their stead; substituting for instance *papa* for *haha*, "mother;" *puruki*, for *furuki*, "old." In fact we must write in a manner which would make plain folks wonder whether we were writing Japanese at all,—a manner which would certainly have interest for the etymological student, but with which no etymological student has yet been bold enough to propose to saddle the general public. It seems therefore a matter of regret, in view of all the circumstances of the case, that many Japanese scholars in Europe should adhere to methods of transliteration (e. g. that proposed by the International Congress of Orientalists in 1873), which fall between two stools,—which are neither truly historical, nor yet representative of the modern pronunciation as it has existed for at least two hundred and eighty-three years, and as it strikes the ears of a majority of persons of all nationalities resident in Japan itself, be they French, German or English.

(Note.—A friend, looking over this paper before it is sent to press, accuses me of inconsistency: "How," says he, "can you, the former zealous advocate of Satow's so-called *Orthographical Transliteration*, come forward to-day as the champion of phonetic spelling?"

To this I reply: "Yes, I am inconsistent to a certain extent, and I am not ashamed to confess it. Progress along any line of investigation naturally brings about changes in the point of view, and especially in the relative importance which one is inclined to attribute to different considerations. Properly speaking, Mr. Satow's system, too, was meant to be phonetic. But the sounds which it aimed at representing were those of that phase of the Japanese language which the *kana*

spelling itself represents, whereas Dr. Hepburn and the Romanisation Society aim at representing the pronunciation of our own day. A knowledge of the older phonetic spelling of the *kana* is indispensable to the theoretical student of the language. No one who has it not at his fingers' ends is qualified to discuss any question of Japanese etymology. At the time when Mr. Satow wrote, Japanese was chiefly interesting as a dead language. To picture the sounds of that dead language seemed, therefore, more important than to indicate modern usage. To-day, on the contrary, there is a fair prospect of Japanese being rejuvenated,—of its coming out clothed in the Roman letter, which will save millions of people years of unproductive study. It would be unwise, even were it possible, to hamper so beneficial a reform by peculiarities interesting to none but half a dozen philologists, and with which, moreover, those philologists have other means of making themselves acquainted. For this reason Mr. Satow himself, as I believe I am not indiscreet in stating, is now willing to sacrifice the ancient to the modern rather than the modern to the ancient, and indeed all private preferences to the convenience of the majority. If inconsistency there is, it is the times which force it on us. In Japan nowadays no one can afford to stand still.”)

ON THE AINU TERM "KAMUI."

By J. BATCHELOR.

[Read November 9th, 1887.]

1.—A mere cursory examination into the nature of the various objects which by the Ainu race are designated *Kamui*, together with a consideration of the acknowledged reasons why that name is given to them, will not only show us that the word is of exceedingly wide and diversified application (and admits therefore of various modifications of meaning), but will, by throwing some degree of light upon what passes in the Ainu mind when he uses that term, possibly lead us to conclude that, after all, it is a *bona fide* Ainu word, and is not (as one would naturally suppose it to be) derived from the possibly more organic and (when compared with this) certainly more circumscribed Japanese term *Kami*.

2.—That *Kamui* is an original Ainu word is merely a suggestion of my own, and is founded rather upon a psychological than a philological consideration of the question. It is my intention in this paper to present you first with a list of the objects to which the term *Kamui* is applied, together with the reasons for so applying it; then to make a few deductions therefrom, leaving the final settlement of the question to those able to decide such matters.

3.—But, before passing on, allow me to correct just one little error which I have heard vented somewhere, and which is, though perhaps but slightly, connected with the present subject. It is a statement to the effect that the *inao* which the Ainu make are *Kamui*, i. e. "gods"; nay, not only are they said to be gods, but it is also said that some represent male and others female gods. Such statements are as far removed from the truth as was that of a certain sagacious photographer

who, I am told, sold photographs of Ainu storehouses with the remarkable words "Aino Temple" written beneath them. *Inao* are whittled pieces of willow wood having the shavings left attached to them. They are merely offerings to the object worshipped. They are not supposed to have anything of deity-nature about them, and differ greatly from the Japanese *Gohei*; for, while the *Gohei* represents the *Kami* (see *Hepburn's Dict.*), *inao* never does the *Kamui*. It is, as the Ainu say, a mere sign or proof to the gods of the sincerity of the worshipper, and generally bears his mark. When offered, the name of the object for whom it is meant is pronounced, as well as the name of the giver. The words run—"from the man *so and so* to the god *so and so*." *Inao* are certainly of different patterns, but that has nothing whatever to do with gender.

4.—It may be remembered by some that, in my "Notes on the Ainu" (see *Transactions*, Vol. x. part II), I invariably wrote *Kamoi*, whereas now the word has been changed into *Kamui*. The explanation I have to offer is:—When those "Notes" were penned, I was but a novice in this particular field of study and had neither caught the true sound of the word, nor was aware of the importance of making that sharp distinction between the sound of the vowels *o* and *u* which it is absolutely necessary to observe if one wishes to speak and write the Ainu language correctly. Since then I have learned that the true sound of the word is *Kamui*; moreover, *Kamoi* means something unmentionably disagreeable, and should for that reason be studiously avoided. I have therefore taken this opportunity of correcting myself. Here also I will take the liberty to remark that, as I have elsewhere stated, the name of this people should be spelt *Ainu* not *Aino*. It is as easy to say or write one form as the other, and *Ainu* is certainly correct, whilst *Aino* is a Japanese corruption of the proper term, and carries in it the absurd idea, invented by the ancient Japanese, of the descent of the race from a human being and an animal. The Ainu themselves do not like to be called *Aino* or *Ainos*, for by it they understand the full form *ai no ko*, "children of the middle" or "mongrel," but by the term *Ainu* they understand "men" and "descendants of *Aiaina*."¹

¹It is often said that the Ainu people are called *Aino* by the Japanese because the word *Ainu* is so similar to the word *Inu*, which is the Japanese for "dog." The

5.—But to return to the subject in hand. In looking over the list of the names of the *Kamui* which I now proceed to give, it will be found that alphabetical arrangement has not been adhered to in this case. The nature of the subject would not allow of such an arrangement. It has been my chief aim to note the order of *Kamui* as they appear to be arranged in the Ainu mind; i. e. according to their degree of dignity, awe, respect, power or usefulness; to look at them, so to speak, from an Ainu point of view. But the Ainu themselves are not altogether in unison as to which so-called god should, in every case, take the precedence; but as the wants of men differ according to times and circumstances, so certain particular beings or objects, real or imagined, are universally called upon under any given conditions or exigencies, or in cases of special need or requirements. This is perfectly natural and what might be expected; but it may be well to remember from the beginning that, the *good* always preceeds the evil, and that the *bad* is never worshipped.

similarity is by no means real, for the difference in sound between *ai* and *i* is very marked indeed. *Ai*, it should be remembered, has the sound of the English vowel *i*, but *i*, as here in the word *inu*, has the sound of the Italian *i*, i. e. it is pronounced like the vowel *i* in the word *machine*. As regards derivation, the word *Aino* is not so frequently supposed by the Japanese to be from *inu* as from *ai no ko* as above stated, and to assert that Ainu is from either would be futile, childish and insulting to the Ainu race. *Aino*, whatever be its derivation, is regarded by the best of the race as a term of reproach, but they are proud of the name Ainu.

The word Ainu is really thus accounted for by the ancients of the race:—The name of the ancestor of the Ainu people (*Ekashi mak un ekashi*, "the ancestor behind the ancestors") is said to have been one named *Aioina*. He existed long before *Okikurumi*; in fact, *Okikurumi* is not so universally known as *Aioina*, neither is he worshipped, though *Aioina* is an object of divine worship. In short, I have some very strong grounds for supposing that *Okikurumi* is no other than *Minamoto no Yoshitsune*. The proofs of this will be forthcoming in a future paper. *Aioina's* immediate descendants were called *Aioina rak guru*, "persons smelling of *Aioina*" (i. e. descendants of *Aioina*). Afterwards this name became contracted into *Ainu rak guru*, thence into *Ainu* merely. The Ainu delight to be called *Ainu rak guru*, and are proud of the name *Aioina*. Other Ainu say that *Ainu rak guru* was but one of the sons of *Aioina*, and that the present race is a remnant of his children.

6.—The generally received order of the *Kamui* is as follows:—

I.—*Moshiri kara Kamui, kotan kara Kamui*. This is supposed to be the highest being to whom the term *Kamui* is applied. He has no special name, the above words being merely a description of his works, and they mean, "The maker of worlds and places." He is also often spoken of as *Kando koro Kamui*, i. e. "The possessor of heaven." He is worshipped as being the chief of all *Kamui*, and is said to be the dispenser of all power and authority to the lower orders of gods. He is the source of all life and being and the head of all that may be included in the term "good."

II.—*Aioina Kamui*. This is said to be the name of the progenitor of the Ainu race, and from whom they derive their name. He is the only human being worshipped by the people,^a and it is his special work,

^a The following note written by me appeared in the *Japan Mail* at the beginning of June this year, and I reproduce it here as bearing upon this point.

THE WORSHIP OF YOSHITSUNE BY THE AINU.

It appears to be a generally received opinion among those persons, whether Japanese or foreign, who have written or made any special inquiries respecting the subject, that the Ainu people are in the habit of worshipping the image or spirit of Kurōhōnguwan Minamoto no Yoshitsune, who it will be remembered was driven to Yezo by his elder brother in the twelfth century of our era. And indeed, when we call to mind that there is a little shrine upon a cliff at the village of Piratori containing an idol representing that great personage; that some Ainu residing at and immediately round Piratori itself actually tell inquirers that some few of their number do at times, though not often, worship at the said shrine; and when we note the fact that most, if not all, of the Ainu men recognize the name Yoshitsune, then we see that this generally received and constantly asserted opinion has, apparently, a good degree of foundation in fact. The writer of these lines formerly shared, in common with many others, the generally received views on this subject; but after long residence with the people themselves, having spent many months in the village of Piratori—at, so to speak, the very doors of the shrine in question—he has been obliged to change his opinion, or at least very considerably to modify it in regard to this as well as many other subjects connected with the Ainu. The following remarks contain a few facts bearing upon this question, and the writer's reasons for believing that the Ainu do not, in the commonly received meaning of the term, actually *worship* either the spirit or image of Kurōhōnguwan Minamoto no Yoshitsune.

In the first place, it must be clearly understood that when persons say the *Ainu* worship Yoshitsune, they mean that people not as a nation, but merely a

given him by the Creator, to preside over the affairs of men, i. e. the Ainu. For this reason he is designated *Kamui*.

III.—*Chup Kamui*. The word *Chup* signifies "luminary."

few individuals resident in the Saru district. Again, the facts are still more narrowed when we make strict inquiries; for it is not even pretended that all the Saru Ainu worship him, but only those of Piratori. Now, there are two Piratoris, viz. Piratori the upper, and Piratori the lower. These two villages were once united, but are now situated from about a quarter to half a mile apart. The shrine of Yoshitune (and there is but one shrine in Yezo) is at the upper Piratori, and the inhabitants of the lower village will tell an inquirer that it is the people of the upper Piratori who worship the person in question. Now, the upper village contains only about thirty-two huts, and we find that not even ten persons out of these families really worship Yoshitsune. It is clear then that the Ainu considered as a race or nation, do not at the present day deify that hero.

Then again, it should be noted that the present shrine is decidedly of Japanese make and pattern: in all respects it is like the general wayside shrines one may see anywhere in Japan. It was built about ten years ago by a Japanese carpenter resident at a place called Sarabuto (Ainu *San-o-butu*). Previous to this there was also a Japanese-made shrine on the same spot, but a much smaller one. The idol in the shrine is both small and ugly; it is a representation not so much of a god as of a warrior, for it is dressed in armour and is furnished with a pair of fierce-looking, staring eyes and a horribly broad grin; it is just such an idol as one might expect in this case, seeing that Yoshitsune was a warrior. Besides this, the Ainu have treated the image to an *inao* or two. There is nothing more, and the shrine is too small for a person to enter.

Now, it is a fact not generally known, I believe, that according to Ainu ideas and usages, it is absolutely necessary to turn to the east in worshipping God (the goddess of fire excepted). Hence the custom of building all huts with the principal end facing the east. The chief window is placed in the east end of the hut, so that the head of a family may look towards the east when at prayer. It is considered to be the height of impoliteness and disrespect to look into a hut through the east window. But the shrine of Yoshitsune is placed in such a position that the worshippers would have to sit or stand with their backs to the east. In every other matter (and why not in this also), assuming such a position in prayer would be a great disrespect to the object worshipped.

The image of Yoshitune is looked upon from the east, hence, speaking from analogy, it would appear that it is not the Ainu worshipping Yoshitsune, but either Yoshitsune worshipping the Ainu, or the Ainu insulting Yoshitsune. Such a conclusion may appear to be somewhat far-fetched, but is, when compared with other things, at any rate a logical one. The writer does not intend to say that the Ainu, in the present case (for with them religion is a serious thing), place such a

These are two in number, called respectively—*Tokap chup Kamui* and *Kunne chup Kamui*, i.e. "day luminary" and "night luminary," or "sun" and "moon." Stars are called *Nochin chup*, but the term *Kamui* is not

construction upon the form of the shrine, though they dearly like to play upon a person sometimes. All he wishes to remark is, that the position of the shrine of Yoshitsune does not come up to the acknowledged requirements of the Ainu ideas of Deity worship.

Again, it is said by the people that they would not worship an idol, because it would be directly against the expressed command of *Aiaina Kamui*, their reputed ancestor. The Ainu are, in many things, a very conservative people, and in the matter of religion, particularly so. Note the following incident. In the days of the Tokugawa régime—so runs the tale—the Ainu were ordered by the Government, or rather by the authorities of Matsumai, to cut their hair Japanese fashion. The result was a great meeting of the Yezo chiefs, which ended in sending off a deputation to beg that the order be countermanded, or at least suffered to lapse. For, say the Ainu, we could not go contrary to the customs of our ancestors without it bringing down upon us the wrath of the gods. And, though a few Ainu, particularly those at Mori, did cut their hair as ordered, the people as a whole were let off. If then a mere change in the fashion of cutting the hair should be such a weighty matter, what would the institution of idol-worship involve?

But notwithstanding all this, there is still not only the fact of the shrine being at Piratori to be accounted for, but also the fact that some Ainu do tell us that Yoshitsune is worshipped by a few of their number, though very seldom. What is the explanation?

An Ainu himself shall answer the first question. "You know," says he, "we have for a long time been subject to the Japanese Tono Sama and Yakunin; and it has been to our interest that we should try to please them as much as possible so as not to bring down trouble upon ourselves. As we know that Yoshitsune did come among our ancestors, it was thought that nothing would please the officials more than for them to think that we really worship Yoshitsune, who was himself a Japanese. And so it came to pass that the shrine was asked for and obtained." This statement was made to the writer quite spontaneously and confidentially, along with many other matters. Taken by itself, this statement might not be worth much, but viewed with other things of the sort, it speaks volumes. The spirit here unwittingly shown is happily fast dying out, for the Ainu begin to see that there is now but one law for both peoples, and that there is justice obtainable even by them. Nevertheless, the spirit above exemplified has been a real factor in the life and actions of the Ainu people.

The whole secret of the second question turns upon the meaning of the word "worship." The word used by the Ainu is *ongami*, and the meaning is, "to bow to," "to salute." The Ainu are delightfully sharp in some things, and this is one of

generally applied to them. By some the sun is considered to be the female principle and the moon the male, but by others vice versâ. The sun and moon are not themselves supposed to be gods, but each a vehicle of some special ruler. They are not generally worshipped. They are called *Kamui* on account of their usefulness in the system of nature, particularly out of regard to their usefulness in providing light and warmth for human beings. For, it should be remarked, a thing is thought to be good only in so far as it benefits men.³

them. An Ainu told me one day, with a most benign grin, reaching almost from ear to ear, that he did *ongumi* (salute) Yoshitsune's shrine or idol; but as for *otta inonno-itak* (praying to that person), neither he nor any one that he knew, did so; and, as regards (*nomi*) the ceremony of offering *inao* or libations of wine to him, both he and many others were always ready to do so providing some one else would find the *sake*! Here, then, is the point; the Ainu do not worship Yoshitsune in the sense of paying him divine honour, any more than the people of England worship Lord Beaconsfield; but some Ainu *do* worship him in the sense of honouring him, in the same sense as Lord Beaconsfield is honoured by the members of the Primrose League, only not in anything like the same degree. Some London cabmen would be just as pleased to worship Mr. Gladstone by drinking his health, and in the same sense, too, as an Ainu would be to hold libations in honour of Yoshitsune; for after all, the said libations are neither more nor less than a drinking of *sake*. The real god worshipped is the person's own stomach.

Such then are my reasons for dissenting from the generally received opinion on this subject. On the contrary, I believe that Yoshitsune is merely honoured by the people. And this opinion rests, not upon the argument of question and answer, but upon that together with actual observation and spontaneously given information.

³ The following note, written by myself and published in the *Japan Mail* of 30th August this year, I reproduce here, as bearing upon the nature of Ainu ideas regarding the sun.

THE AINU IDEA OF AN ECLIPSE.

The writer of these lines having been asked by several friends what the Ainu think of an eclipse of the the sun or moon, it was thought by him that the appearance of the late solar eclipse would be a most favourable time for making special inquiries concerning this subject, and so finding out what the Ainu idea of these phenomena really is, and what genuine traditions they have respecting the matter. But the Ainu is a very matter-of-fact race, and does not, as a race, generally allow itself to be carried away by imagination; nor do the people speculate greatly in any way or upon any subject, unless it be as to how they may obtain a cup of strong drink (*sake*).

IV.—*Abe Kamui.* *Abe* is the common word for "fire." The fire is often spoken of as being of feminine gender and is known by the

The results of my investigations are not so satisfactory as I had hoped, yet there is something that may be curious, interesting, and instructive, and therefore worth noting and a passing thought.

On the morning of the 19th instant we proceeded to blacken some glass so as to enable the Ainu to see the eclipse when it took place. At the proper time we produced the glass, and bade the Ainu to look at the sun. The result was worth seeing, for immediately the exclamation rang out—*Chup rai, chup rai*, "the luminary is dying," "the sun is dying." Another person called out—*Chup chikai anu*, "the sun is fainting away" or "the luminary is suddenly dying." This is all that was said; silence ensued, and only now and then an exclamation of surprise or fear was to be heard. But it was plainly evident that the people were in fear lest the eclipse should be total. The Ainu greatly fear a total eclipse of the sun, lest that luminary, having once quite died away, should not come to life again, and so all living beings perish.

One would expect the Ainu people would worship the sun at this particular time, but such is not the case. The Ainu are here consistent, and treat the sun as they do a dying or fainting person. When a person is dying (on one occasion I myself was present), one of the company will either fill his mouth with fresh water and squirt it into the sufferer's face and bosom, or will bring water in a vessel of some kind and sprinkle him with his hand, thereby attempting to revive him. So we find that, when there is an eclipse (particularly a total eclipse) of the sun, the people will bring water and sprinkle it upward towards that luminary, thinking thereby to revive it, at the same calling out—*Kamui-atemka, Kamui-atemka*, "O god we revive thee, O god we revive thee." If the water is sprinkled with branches of willow, it is supposed to have special efficacy and power in bringing the sun back to life, for the willow is the sacred tree of the Ainu, and all *inao* or religious symbols are made of that wood. But when there is a visible eclipse of the sun, the Ainu may be said to go fairly off their heads through fear, so that they have not always presence of mind or sufficient coolness of head to wait to get the willow boughs. The all-important thing is to get the water to the sun to heal its faintness. Hence, some persons may be seen squirting water upwards with their mouths, others throwing it up with their hands; some again may be using a common besom, whilst a few will be seen with the orthodox willow branches in their hands; a few (particularly women and girls) will be seen sitting down and hiding their heads between their knees, as if silently expecting some dreadful calamity to suddenly befall them. Such is the Ainu method of bringing the sun back to life.

The sun having been restored to his normal condition of brightness and glory, the cunning old *sake* drinkers have a fine pretext for getting intoxicated. Of course libations of wine must be held in honour of the sun's recovery from faintness and

special names, *Kamui*⁴ *huchi*, "Grandmother" or "old woman"; *Iresu huchi*, "the grandmother who rears us"; *Iresu Kamui*, "she who rears us," and *Elkashi Kamui*, "the male ancestor." By the latter word the fire appears as a male god, but mostly it is spoken of as being feminine. This god is worshipped because of its general usefulness in the matter of cooking food and giving out heat. The fire is also supposed to be a great purifier of the body from disease. Hence it is worshipped on all occasions of sickness or death, always when there is a festival, and, without fail, when a newly-built house is first occupied. It should also be noted that the fire is considered to be a special mediator between gods and men, frequently being spoken of as *Shongo Kamui*, "the messenger."

V.—*Wakka-ush Kamui*. *Wakka-ush* means "watery," and is a term applied to the goddesses who are supposed to preside over all springs, ponds, lakes, streams, rivers and waterfalls. With *Wakka-ush Kamui* is associated another goddess called *Chiwash ekot mat*, "the female possessor of the places where fresh and salt waters mingle." It is her special province to guard the mouths of rivers, and it is she who admits the spring and autumn salmon in and out of them.

These goddesses are worshipped because they benefit men, particularly in allowing fish to ascend and descend the rivers, for fish is the staple food of the Ainu race.

return to life, and the subject must be duly talked over and ancient instances of a like occurrence recited. But a few cups of *sake* soon cause the talkers to speak what is not true or reliable, and they are not long before they begin to show signs of being in a somewhat maudlin state.

Sober Ainu traditions of eclipses are all of one stamp, and run thus:—

"When my father was a child he heard his old grandfather say that his grandfather saw a total eclipse of the sun. The earth became quite dark and shadows could not be seen; the birds went to roost and the dogs began to howl. The black, dead sun shot out tongues of fire and lightning from its sides, and the stars shone brightly. Then the sun began to return to life, and the faces of the people wore an aspect of death; and, as the sun gradually came to life, then men began to live again."

Such is a sample of Ainu traditions concerning solar eclipses. It only remains for me to remark that total eclipses, or, in fact, eclipses at all, are quite unaccountable to the Ainu; nor have I heard a single theory advanced with reference to their causes.

⁴ Among the Karafuto Ainu *Huchi* is the common word for fire.

VI.—*Rep un Kamui*. These are the gods of the sea. They are two in number. One is thought to be good and the other to be evil. Their names are *Shi acha* and *Mo acha*, and they are brothers. *Shi acha*, who is the elder, is ever restless and is continually pursuing and persecuting his brother. He is the originator of all storms and bad weather, and is the direct cause of all shipwrecks and deaths from drowning in the sea. He is much feared, but never worshipped. *Shi* means "rough," "wild," strong," and *Acha* "uncle." The corresponding river evil deity is called *Sarak Kamui*,⁵ and she is the cause of all river accidents, and is bitterly hated.

Mo acha, which means "the uncle of peace," is said to be the god of fine weather. He it is who is worshipped at all the sea-side fishing-stations, and it is to him that the clusters of *inao* (called *nusa*) one may often see upon the sea-shore are generally offered.

⁵ *Sarak* is a word meaning accidental death, and *Sarak Kamui* appears to be a god or demon who presides over accidents. Its evil deeds are not confined exclusively to the fresh waters, but it is also thought to be the cause of all land accidents. When an accidental death has taken place on shore, either from drowning or otherwise, the Ainu, as soon as they find it out, proceed to perform a certain ceremony frequently called *Sarak Kamui*. The ceremony is as follows:—The inevitable *sake* is of course first procured by the relatives of the victim of *Sarak Kamui*. Then messengers are sent round to the different villages to invite the men and women to join in the ceremony. The men bring their swords or long knives with them and the women their head-gear. On arriving at the appointed hut, the chiefs of the people assembled proceed to chant their dirges and worship the fire-god. Then, after eating some cakes made of pounded millet, and drinking a good proportion of *sake*, they all go out of doors in single file, the men leading. The men draw their swords or knives and hold them point upwards in the right hand close to the shoulder, and then altogether they take a step with the left foot, at the same time stretching forward to the full extent the right hand with the sword, and calling, as if with one voice, *wooi*; then the right foot is moved forward, the sword at the same time being drawn back and the *wooi* repeated. This is continued till the place of accident is reached. The women follow the men; and with disheveled hair, and their head-gear hanging over the shoulders, they continue to weep and howl during the whole ceremony. Arrived at the place of accident, a continual howling is kept up for some time, and the men strike hither and thither with their swords, thus supposing to drive away the evil *Sarak Kamui*. This finished, the people return to the house of the deceased in the same order as they came forth, and, sad to say, feast, drink *sake*, and get intoxicated. The ceremony attending *Sarak Kamui* is properly called *Niwen-horobi*.

VII.—*Kim un Kamui*. This term is generally applied to bears. Bears are designated *Kamui* and worshipped for two reasons. First, because of their greatness, and then on account of their usefulness. The Ainu know of no greater animal than the bear; to them he is the "king of the forest." Nor is there, in the Ainu idea, a more useful or powerful animal in the world, for it is at once both food and clothing to them; and that appears to be all these hairy sons of nature care about.

Foxes and moles and a few other animals have the appellation *Kamui* applied to them, but they are not worshipped, because they cannot be turned to much account.⁶ In other words, the Ainu worship no animal from which they can derive no present benefit. Nor is a "man-eating" bear, if known to be such, ever worshipped; nay, the very term *Kamui* is taken from him, and his name is changed into that of *Hokuyuk*. It is also perhaps worth remembering that, any animal, though called *Kamui*, has also its particular specific name.

VIII.—*Kamui chep*. This is a name given to the autumn salmon. It is so called because it is the largest fish which ascends the rivers. It is not worshipped. Its proper name is *Shibe*. The flesh is used for food, while the skins are converted into shoes for winter wear, they being of a rough nature, and so adapted to prevent slipping.

IX.—Many of the larger kinds of the feathered tribe are called *Kamui*, as: *Kamui chikap* and *Ohikap Kamui*. But they do not appear to be worshipped. Some of these *Kamui chikap*, I may here remark, are said to be birds of ill-omen, and others birds of good omen.

X.—We often hear too of *Kamui kotan* and *Kamui nupuri*. *Kamui kotan* generally indicates a very beautiful locality or a place where fish or animals, or both, are plentiful; sometimes also it signifies "heaven." *Kamui nupuri* is generally applied to either a very rugged or high mountain, or to a mountain range where bears abound.

XI.—It is also to be taken into consideration that the term *Kamui* is sometimes applied to human beings. For instance, the Emperor of

⁶ This statement, though generally true, does not hold in every case, for at one Ainu village I came across a cage having three wolf cubs in it and another containing a young fox. These will next year be worshipped, killed and eaten, as bear cubs are. But this practice is not general. It is occasionally resorted to because bears are now scarce.

Japan has been called *Cho un Kamui*, the word *Cho* being the Japanese word for "chief" or "head." Officials too are frequently called *Tono Kamui*, especially the prefects of districts and the mayors of villages. Other persons also, who are specially respected, have the term *Kamui* applied to them. Thus *Kamui* comes to be a mere title of respect.

XII.—A beautiful flower may be called *Kamui nonno*; a pleasant secluded dell *Kamui moi*; a very large tree, *Kamui chikuni*; a gentle cool breeze upon a hot day, *Kamui rera*; large waves of the sea, *Kamui ruyambe* or *Kamui riri*; a "man-of-war" ship, *Kamui chip*; a dog which has saved life, *Kamui seta*; an elephant or lion, *Kamui chikoikip*; and so on *ad infinitum*.

XIII.—Lastly we find that devils, evil spirits and reptiles also have the term *Kamui* applied to them, though they are never worshipped, but always greatly feared. Thus Satan and evil spirits are called *Nitne Kamui* and *Wen Kamui*; snakes are called *Okokko Kamui* or *Tokkoni Kamui*, whilst adders and vipers are termed *Paskuru Kamui*. Such diseases as small-pox and cholera have the word *Kamui* given to them. This is because they are very much dreaded.

7.—Such then is a list containing the names of the principal objects to which the Ainu race applies the term *Kamui*. These objects are so varied in their nature, and the acknowledged reasons for applying that term to them are so manifold, that in this paper I have not felt at liberty to translate it by any special particle, noun or adjective. Such words as "divine," "mighty," and so forth, would without doubt, in many instances, admirably express the idea a person intends to convey when he uses that term, but in many cases it could not be so translated, as a careful consideration of the foregoing examples will show. But it should be remembered that, when the word *Kamui* is used alone and without reference to any specified object, it generally indicates either the chief God, i.e. the Creator and Governor of the world, or bears. When therefore the word *Kamui* is used, it is necessary to specify, directly or indirectly, what object is referred to.

8.—Now, by our comparison of the various objects bearing the name *Kamui* with one another, we are led to the following conclusions:—

(a) When applied to gods supposed to be good, *Kamui* expresses the quality of being useful, beneficent, exalted or divine.

(b) When applied to supposed evil gods, it indicates that which is most to be feared and dreaded.

(c) When applied to devils, reptiles and evil diseases, it signifies the most hateful, abominable and repulsive.

(d) When applied especially as a prefix to animals, fish or fowl, it represents the greatest or most fierce, or the most useful for food and clothing.

(e) When applied to persons, it is a mere title of respect expressing honour, reverence or rank.

(f) We see too that, because an object is termed *Kamui*, it by no means necessarily follows that it is divinely worshipped, or in many cases even revered.

9.—Thus it will be seen that the various ideas expressed by the word in question enter very largely into the every-day thoughts and expressions of the people. Much more indeed than a passing observer would imagine. Psychologically considered, it is very difficult to understand how the people could ever get along without this word, for it expresses thoughts very peculiar and antique for which we can find no equivalent or synonymous terms in their vocabulary. Language, we know, grows as nations come into contact with one another, and ideas are mutually introduced into the minds of each other. But if we once admit that the word *Kamui* was introduced by the Japanese, and is, in fact, nothing more or less than the Japanese word *Kami*, immediately the question arises, had the Ainu no deity before they heard of the word *Kami*? And has the word *Kami*, or the Japanese people, been the instrument of introducing all the ideas into the Ainu mind which they express when using that term? To me this appears to be highly improbable, though, no doubt, it is not impossible. The objects to which the Ainu apply that term are, in very many cases, totally different from those to which *Kami* is applied; and the idea expressed by the word *Kamui* also, in many cases, differs very considerably from *Kami*. If one should apply the word *Kami* to such objects as the Ainu apply the term *Kamui*, it would sometimes make perfect nonsense and would certainly provoke laughter amongst the Japanese. It may be replied to this, that among such a people as the Ainu, a people who possess no literature whatever, the original idea intended by the word in question has, as the ages have

rolled by, most likely grown into what it is now. That may be so; but is it not improbable that a borrowed word should have grown into such gigantic proportions? Nay, has it not therefore grown out of all reasonable dimensions? It covers a great deal more ground, if I may use the expression, than the Japanese word *Kami*, and, if derived from it, has expanded beyond all reasonable bounds.

10.—Again, the word enters so much into the very life—so to speak—of the people, that there appear to be some very strong grounds for suspecting it to be an original Ainu word. Thoughts or ideas are naturally prior to language, for language is but the expression of ideas. My position therefore is this:—*In the same degree as it is probable or not improbable that the Ainu race had many of the ideas expressed by the word Kamui before they came into contact with the Japanese people, to that degree is it probable or not improbable that they also had a word to express those ideas.* But the Ainu vocabulary, so far as it is at present known, gives us no word synonymous to, or that express many of the ideas contained in, the term *Kamui*. There is no other word for "God"; the idea "demon" cannot be expressed without it. Why therefore should not *Kamui* be a *bona fide* native word? And why, if it be necessary to derive one word from the other, should not *Kamui* be the parent of *Kami*? No less an authority than Prof. B. H. Chamberlain has shown us clearly that scores of the place-names of Japan proper are but corruptions of the Ainu names; so it would not appear unreasonable to suppose, even without the arguments now produced, that the Japanese term *Kami* may have been taken from the same language. What the Ainu themselves say about this may not be worth much; but I ought perhaps to remark that many of the oldest of the Ainu to whom I have spoken on the subject, state positively that *Kamui* is not from the Japanese word *Kami*, but is a word belonging intrinsically to their own language. But as they can give no derivation for the word, their mere statement can count for very little.

11.—Nor, when we examine closely into the construction of the word in question can we discover any certain grounds that would justify us in stating positively that *Kamui* is the offspring of *Kami*. Things are not always what they seem. We know of but one exact analogy to which to compare the term, and that goes to show that it was not borrowed from the

Japanese language. The word I refer to is *Kami*, "paper." This word has become in Ainu, *Kambi*, not *Kamui*. Hence, if the word for "god" was really borrowed from the Japanese, it should, according to analogy, have been *Kambi*, and not *Kamui*, as it is pronounced. The Ainu, when adopting a Japanese word, never place the letter *u* between *m* and *i*, though they frequently do between *sh* and *i*. Note for example the Japanese word *Hashi* which has been adopted by the Ainu. In Ainu this word becomes *Hashui* or *Pashui*, often changed into *Bashui*. Thus:—*Pera bashui*, "a spoon"; *Ibe bashui*, "chop-sticks"; *Abe bashui*, "fire-tongs." The form of the word therefore, in our opinion at least, gives us no solid grounds for concluding that the Ainu term *Kamui* is derived from *Kami*.

12.—A curious solution was once suggested by some one, by which *Kam rui*, said to mean "thick-fleshed," was supposed to be the parent of *Kamui*. This somewhat fanciful exposition appears to belong to that class of things one sometimes hears spoken of as "Mare's nests." For *firstly*, the adjective *rui* is generally applied (I had almost said *only* applied) to inanimate objects, and means "great," "large," "loud," "rough," "expensive," the meaning in each case being determined by the noun it qualifies. An animal is never correctly spoken of as being *Kam rui*, but *Min-ush*. In the Ainu language, if it is necessary to say thick-fleshed, the words should be *Ironne kam* and not *kam rui*. *Secondly*, the Ainu are very fond of the letter *r*, so that there is but a very low degree of probability that they should have dropped it; nor are we able to produce any one example to show that a like omission has ever taken place.

13.—I, myself, have no suggestion to make as to the derivation of the term, nor have I yet met any Ainu who could explain it. But it is interesting to remark that the root of the word, namely *Ka*, is perhaps significant, its meaning being "top," "over," "upon." *Mui*⁷ is still to be accounted for. I once heard the word *mui* applied to the very topmost point of a high conical mountain, but as I heard it but once so used, I can draw no conclusions therefrom.

⁷ If it could be clearly shown that the letter *m* in *Kamui* was merely inserted for the sake of euphony, thus leaving *Kau* as the original word for "God," all difficulty in the matter would immediately be at an end; for *Kau* would mean "he who" or "that which is highest."

Such then are the considerations which have disposed me to gravely doubt the wisdom of having in a certain place put down the word *Kamui* as being of Japanese origin. I must consider it at least doubtful, until more convincing proofs are brought forward showing the word to be of Japanese origin, as to whether the term *Kamui* is not after all a real Ainu word. My opinion is that it is truly so.

REPLY TO MR. BATCHELOR ON THE WORDS "KAMUI" AND "AINO."

By B. H. CHAMBERLAIN.

[Read November 9th, 1887.]

Mr. Batchelor's details, derived from his unequalled experience, concerning the various uses to which the Aino word *Kamui* is put, or rather the various objects to which it is applied, are extremely interesting on account of the light which they throw upon the workings of the mind of the uncultured race, which he has done so much to raise to a higher level. "The God who created the world," the Sun and Moon Gods, the Gods of Sea, Fire and Water, the God or Demon of Sudden Death,—what natural ideas these are! Every thing very great and strange, very powerful, very beautiful, very terrible, in fact, *very* anything, is apt, all over the world, to be looked upon with awe. I therefore see variety, not so much in the *ideas* conveyed by the word *Kamui*, as in the *objects* to which it can be applied. "God," "super-natural," "wonderful," are perhaps our nearest approximations to it; but we have no exact equivalent, for the simple reason that we are no longer in the stage of thought out of which such a word grows. The Japanese were, at the dawn of history, not far removed from that stage; and the great Shintō scholar Hirata's account of the uses of the word *Kami*, as summarised by Mr. Satow in Vol. III, Appendix, pp. 48-49 of the present "Transactions," is as follows:—

"As to the signification of the word *kami*;¹—it is applied in the first place to all the *kami* of heaven and earth who are mentioned in the ancient records, as well as to their spirits which reside in the temples where they are worshipped. Further, not only human beings, but also

¹ This passage is copied by Hirata almost word for word from vol. iii. of the *Ko-zhi-ki Deñ*, without any acknowledgment. [This and the two following foot-notes form part of the quotation from Mr. Satow's paper.]

birds, beasts, plants and trees, seas and mountains, and all other things whatsoever which possess powers of an extraordinary and eminent character, or deserve to be revered and dreaded, are called *kami*. Eminent does not mean solely worthy of honour, good or distinguished by great deeds, but is applied also to the *kami* who are to be dreaded on account of their evil character or miraculous nature. Amongst human beings who are at the same time *kami* are to be classed the successive Mikados, who in the Mañ-yefu-shifu and other ancient poetry are called *towo-tsu-kami* (distant gods) on account of their being far removed from ordinary men, as well as many other men, some who are revered as *kami* by the whole Empire, and those whose sphere is limited to a single province, department, village or family. The *kami* of the Divine Age were mostly human beings, who yet resembled *kami*, and that is why we give that name to the period in which they existed. Beside human beings, the thunder is called the 'sounding god' (*naru-kami*). The dragon, goblins (*teñ-gu*) and the fox are also *kami*, for they are likewise eminently miraculous and dreadful creatures. In the Ni-hoñ-gi and in the Mañ-yefu-shifu the tiger and the wolf² are spoken of as *kami*. Izanagi gave the name of Oho-kamu-dzu-mi no mikoto to the fruit of the peach-tree, and the jewels which he wore on his neck were called Mi-kura-tama no mikoto. In the *Zhiñ-dai-no-maki* and the *Oho-barahi no kotoba*, rocks, stumps of trees, leaves of plants and so forth are said to have spoken in the Divine age; these also were *kami*. There are many cases of the term being applied to seas and mountains. It was not a spirit that was meant, but the term was used directly of the particular sea or mountain,—of the sea on account of its depth and the difficulty of crossing it, of the mountain on account of its loftiness."³

² *Oho-kami*, literally, great god.

³ *Kami*, god, is evidently the same word as *Kami* applied to a superior, as to a master by his servant or to the sovereign by his subjects, to the chief officer of a sub-department of the administration, and in ancient times to the governor of a province. Its primary meaning is 'that which is above,' and hence 'chief.' So that Izanagi no Oho kami would mean Great Chief Izanagi. *Mikoto*, which is a title applied to gods, and forms part of the word *Sumera-mikoto*, the ancient name of the sovereigns of Japan, is composed of the honorific *mi* and *koto*, word, and hence, thing. It might be rendered augustness, and Izanagi no mikoto would mean His Augustness Izanagi.

So far Hirata and Mr. Satow.—Naturally enough, the Japanese left several of these applications of the word *Kami* behind them as they advanced in civilization; but all were current in early days, and traces of them may still be found in literature.

So far then as signification is concerned, the Japanese word (and idea) *Kami*, and the Aino word (and idea) *Kamui* seem to me to be identical. With regard, however, to the question of the existence of an etymological connection between the two terms, the position is somewhat different. It is dangerous to assume too positively, and unless further evidence is forthcoming, that one word is derived from another, simply because the two sound alike. Japanese *aru* has nothing to do with English "are," though it has the same meaning; nor Japanese *hone* (sometimes *bone*) with "bone." Mr. Batchelor may therefore possibly be correct in rejecting the theory that Aino *Kamui* comes from Japanese *Kami*. At the same time, the example of the insertion of a *u* in the word *pashui*, "chopstick," which is undoubtedly borrowed from the Japanese *hashi*, would seem to be another index pointing in the same direction. The absence of the *b*, which Mr. Batchelor thinks we should find inserted after the *m* of *Kamui*, were the latter a borrowed word, seems to me likewise far from conclusive. What indeed is the *vera causa* of the Aino distortions of Japanese words? Simply the fact that the Ainos borrow their Japanese from the Northern *patois*, which has corrupted the standard Japanese pronunciation of certain letters. But the Japanese word *Kami* has, I venture to think, not suffered any change in the northern *patois* of Japanese (though I cannot be quite positive on the point),—possibly owing to the sacredness of the word. Such exceptions to general rules of phonetic change occur in all languages under certain exceptional circumstances. This argument, if valid, would account for the form being *Kamui* rather than *Kambi*, which latter we should otherwise have expected. Or else we may appeal to the probability (if there *was* any borrowing on the part of the Ainos) that the borrowing took place many hundreds of years ago, further south in the main island. I do not, as before said, mean to state that I consider it certain that the Ainos did borrow the word in question from the Japanese,—for indeed somewhat like-sounding names for "God" occur in other parts of Asia, and we may therefore have before us a case

of mere coincidence,—but merely to suggest that such a loan does not seem improbable, philologically speaking, much less impossible.

Mr. Batchelor's argument from the psychological side appears to me much more subtle and ingenious,—his question, viz., "Had then the Ainos no deity before they heard of the word *Kami*?—Is it not improbable that a borrowed word should grow to such gigantic proportions?" Nevertheless borrowed words and borrowed ideas do unquestionably often grow into gigantic proportions, as the whole religious history of the Western world may testify. Ingenious as Mr. Batchelor's pleading is on behalf of his favorite islanders, I cannot therefore, on the psychological side either, see any sufficient reason for attributing to them originality in this matter. Surely originality is the rarest thing in the whole world. *Ceteris paribus*, similarity always finds a more likely explanation in borrowing than in independent invention, especially when the similarity is between two races living side by side, fighting together, marrying together, as we know the Japanese and the Ainos to have done for centuries, if not for millenniums past. History is there to prove that religious ideas and terms, though touching the inmost spring of a nation's life, are almost as easily borrowed as are the most superficial material inventions. We do not find, however, that barbarous races communicate their religious ideas and terminology to more civilized races; or if they ever do so, as might be alleged in the case of the Arabs proselytizing Syria and Persia, the circumstances, as well as the genius of the race, must be altogether peculiar. We find no trace, in the history of the Far-East, of such an upsetting of the usual course of nature. The rule is for the richer to lend to the poorer, not the poorer to the richer. Early Japan, for instance, gave nothing to China, just as the American Indians have given nothing to the New-Englanders. If, therefore, we are to reject on *a priori* grounds, as Mr. Batchelor would have us do, the notion of a loan made by the Ainos from the Japanese, then very much more are we bound to reject the notion of a loan by the Japanese from the Ainos. We know with absolute certainty that the Japanese were already far advanced in civilization fourteen hundred years ago; and it is simply incredible that they should have borrowed their word (and idea) *Kami*, which occurs over and over again in the most ancient documents, from

the Aino word (and idea) *Kamui*,—if indeed *Kamui* existed at all at that early date, a fact which we have no means of knowing. The only thing which we are justified in holding with regard to Aino culture is that it was still more meagre in ancient days than it is now; and few, I think, who have mixed with the Ainos, will assert that the latter are even now the sort of people likely to start new ideas and communicate them to others.

I fear I am taking up an unconscionable amount of the Society's time. But pray bear with me a few moments while I touch, as briefly as possible, on another point of disagreement between Mr. Batchelor and myself. He wishes us to say "Ainu." I am for "Aino." Why? Simply because Europeans have said "Aino" for the last two hundred and fifty years. What is the good of purism? We do not say "Nihon"; we say "Japan." We do not say "Wien"; we say "Vienna." Neither do we consider it necessary to upset our established habit of saying "Calcutta" and "Bombay," and to enthrone in their place "Kalkatte" and "Bambai." Nor, though our knowledge of the Maoris of New Zealand is much more recent than our knowledge of the Ainos of Yezo, and it might therefore be supposed easier to upset existing usage in their case, do we give up our pronunciation of "Maori," and say "Maui," as some enthusiastic New Zealand scholars may perhaps wish us to do, on the ground of that being the real native sound of the name. This question of native purism *versus* established English usage has been fought over and over again in every part of the world, with the almost invariable result that usage,—ignorant usage, if you will,—prevails over the purists. It is too much trouble to say, for instance, "Thoukudidēs" when "Thucydides" is just as clear, and has long been in everybody's mouth. If we followed the plan advocated by Mr. Batchelor and by several other eminent authorities in various special lines,—Carlyle, for instance when treating of German names, simply because the Germans were his special pets, as the Ainos are Mr. Batchelor's—we should have to do nothing less than turn all our old associations topsy-turvey, from "Adam" and "Eve" downwards. Just imagine "Eve," for example, as "Khavváh!" Yet that is the Hebrew word which we mispronounce "Eve;" and surely there is ten thousand times more to be said in favour of preserving Hebrew words intact than of

preserving Aino ones. Moreover, which of the purists was ever consistent? Each purist is a purist only within his own small domain. Carlyle is particular about German names only. The "Thuokudidês" man lets "Calcutta" slide. The "Kalkatte" man says "Thucydides" along with the rest of mankind; and so on right round the ring. No! I, for one, am very fond indeed of Oriental studies; but I am still fonder of English, and of our established habits of speech and pronunciation. I cannot therefore side with Mr. Batchelor in this matter, though I know that in venturing to disagree with him, I, the merest of tyros in Aino—or Ainu—am so rash as to run counter to the chief authority on the subject, the man on whom are founded all our hopes for the further investigation, as well as for the mental and moral raising of that race whose name, in order to end by trying to keep the peace, I will not now pronounce again.

EARLY JAPANESE HISTORY.

BY W. G. ASTON.

[*Read 14th December, 1887.*]

Preliminary. Kaempfer, in his well-known History of Japan, tells us that since the time of Jimmu Tennō the Japanese have “been accurate and faithful in writing the history of their country, and the lives and reigns of their monarchs.” Most subsequent writers repeat this opinion with little variation. Even so recent,¹ and on the whole, so well-informed a writer as Dr. Rein, in giving a brief sketch of the early history, expresses no doubt of its accuracy except in one solitary instance.² A view which has the support of so eminent an authority can hardly be summarily set aside as altogether obsolete. It is true that it was pointed out by the late Mr. Bramsen in 1880, and since then conclusively shown by Mr. Chamberlain,³ that no reliance can be placed on the so-called histories of Japan before A. D. 400. Mr. Satow has expressed himself to the same effect.⁴ But error dies hard, and there is reason to believe that there are many, even among scholars, who still cling to a belief in the quasi-historical tales of the Kojiki and Nihongi, though they may endeavour to minimize the miraculous element which they contain. It may therefore be not

¹ The English edition of Dr. Rein's work, published under the author's supervision, bears date 1884.

² He declines to believe that Ōjin Tennō lived to the age of 100.

³ See the Introduction to his Translation of the Kojiki, which forms a supplement to Vol. X. of the Transactions of this Society.

⁴ He says: “Nearly all European writers who have occupied themselves with this subject have confidently accepted impossible dates, fabulous tales and other inconsistencies as of undoubted authenticity.”—Handbook for Japan, Introd. p. 69.

altogether superfluous, even now, to fight over again some of the battles of my predecessors in this field, and to examine more in detail some of the evidence which compels us to refuse the name of history to the annals of Japan for more than a thousand years. While doing so, it may be possible occasionally to point out sources of error, or perhaps to distinguish here and there some solid ground of fact amid the general chaos.

The period previous to the Christian epoch need not occupy us long. It has been pointed out by Mr. Bramsen ^{Japanese History B. C.} that the lengths of the reigns and of the lives of the sovereigns at this time are far too great for real history, and if little faith can be placed in the existing records for 400 or 500 years after that epoch, it is in the last degree improbable that more remote events should have been related with greater accuracy. The chronicles of this early period stand also self-condemned by the numerous miraculous occurrences which they record. During this time the contemporary histories of China and Corea afford us little information with respect to Japan, but something may no doubt be done towards piercing the mist of confused tradition by an examination of the Japanese records themselves in the light of modern principles of historical criticism, of philology, and of antiquarian research. I leave to others a task which presents no common difficulties and which will yield, I fear, but scanty and precarious results in proportion to the labour bestowed on it.

Chinese writers mention a belief that the Japanese are descended from the Chinese Prince, T'ai Peh of Wu, and ^{Chinese legends relating to Japan.} that a colony from China under Sū-she settled in Japan,

B. C. 219. It has also been thought that the Pusang country of the Shan-hai-king is identical with Japan. None of these views seems to rest on any solid foundation. But the work just named contains what is probably the oldest authentic notice of Japan which we possess. It reads as follows : —“ The Northern and Southern Was “ are subject to the Kingdom of Yen (燕).” It does not seem probable that Japan was ever subject to a kingdom whose capital stood on or near the site of the present City of Peking, but the statement that the Japanese were in early times divided into Northern and Southern is

⁵Yen, a Kingdom of Northern China, had an independent existence from B.C. 1122 to B. C. 265.

deserving of attention. It is known that during the Han Dynasty there were Was not subject to the King of Yamato, and embassies were received from princes who could not have ruled the whole country. The ancient legends of Japan, as has been shown by Mr. Chamberlain, are connected with three distinct centres, viz., Yamato, Idzumo, and Tsukushi,⁶ a fact which also points to the conclusion that at one time Yamato was not the seat of Government for all Japan.

A word as to the term Wa used for Japan by the Shan-hai-King, and often met with in subsequent Chinese literature. The Chinese character is 倭, now pronounced Wo in the Mandarin dialect, but I have retained the Japanese sound, which also agrees with an ancient Chinese pronunciation. It is thus defined in Williams' Dictionary:—"From *man* and *bent*. The Japanese, Japan: "a term used by themselves as the equivalent of Yamato: it is defined by "Chinese as the country of dwarfs." The Japanese deny that they ever used this term for themselves or their country, except in words confessedly borrowed from China. One writer suggests that the first Japanese who visited China, when asked what they called their country, replied "Waga kuni," i.e. "our country." "Waga" being taken for a proper name, first became Wanu (倭奴), and then by the Chinese habit of putting foreign words on the Procrustean bed of their own monosyllabic tongue, "Wa." I lean rather to the hypothesis that Wa or perhaps Wani was the name of the ruling tribe or family from which the sovereigns of Japan were at one time taken. Wani appears not unfrequently as a proper name in the Kojiki and Nihongi. The Japanese subsequently conceived a dislike to this word, probably on account of the Chinese characters with which it was written. No nation would like to be known as the "yielding" or "compliant slaves," the literal meaning of 倭奴, or even as the compliant country or people, and it is not surprising that the Japanese should have rejected this character first in

⁶The northern part of Kiushiu. We shall see later that the Chinese in early times imagined that Yamato lay to the south of Kiushiu. By the Northern Was therefore were probably meant the Kumasos, the Yamato Japanese being the Southern Was. In the third century we hear of a third independent Kingdom which was called Konu, and which lay to the east of Yamato, beyond the sea (the Owari gulf?).

favour of 大和, or Great Wa, but oftener read "Yamato," and afterwards of Nippon (日本). The latter term, as we are informed by the Korean history known as the "Tong-kuk-thong-kam" (東國通鑑) or more briefly as the "Tongkam," was substituted for Wa in A.D. 670. There is a Chinese authority to the same effect, and the practice in official documents and other writings bears similar testimony. But it may be asked, is not Nippon merely a translation of an older native term, viz., *Hi no moto*? It seems more probable that the contrary is the case, and that *Hi no moto* is a translation of Nippon. Both terms bear the unmistakeable stamp of Chinese influence. They mean "the origin of the sun," in other words "Land of Sunrise." To a Japanese his own country is just as much the land of sunset as it is the land of sunrise. It is only to a mind imbued with the notion that China is the great, the central country, that it would occur to call Japan the Land of Sunrise or the Eastern Land. Our oldest histories of Japan, the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*, were compiled soon after the term Nippon was officially introduced, and it may be suspected that the opportunity was taken of substituting many 大和s and Yamatos for the 倭s and Was of the older records. Of the 倭s which remain, some should doubtless be read Wa and not Yamato.

To return from this digression to the history of the
Corea & Japan
B. C. period before the Christian era. The Korean records of this time are very scanty. The Tongkam, however, mentions a Japanese descent on Silla (Shinra in Japanese) which is stated to have taken place B. C. 50. The Japanese, hearing of the virtues of the Silla monarch, went away again. From other passages in the same work it would appear that a Japanese held high office in the Silla Government at this time. But it is doubtful how far reliance can be placed on Korean history at this early date.

Japanese history contains two notices of Corea which,
Mimana and
Kara. according to the accepted chronology, fall within the period before Christ. One, which is dated B. C. 33, states that "Mimana sends Sonakashichi with tribute. Mimana is more than 2000 ri to the north of Tsukushi, from which it is divided by the sea. It lies to the S. W. of Kirin" (i.e. Silla). Five years later "Sonakashichi asks leave to return to his own country. The Emperor rewards

"him, and entrusts him with a present of red silk for his King. The Silla people waylay him, and rob him of the presents. This was the origin of the enmity between the two countries of Silla and Mimana."

The word Mimana, as far as I have been able to ascertain, is purely Japanese. No country of that name is mentioned in Korean history. There may possibly be some truth in the statement that the Japanese gave it a name derived from that of their Emperor Mimaki, like our own Victoria, Carolina or Queensland. There is no doubt, however, as to the part of Korea which is intended. Mimana included all the S. Western half of the present province of Kyōngsyangdo. The great river Samlanggang formed the boundary between it and Silla. The Korean name for this little state was Kara or Karak. It is first mentioned in Korean history in A. D. 42, which is given as the date of the accession of the first King, Kimshuro. Before that time, says the Tongkam, there were nine savage tribes without a regular government or fixed abode. Kimshuro was one of six brothers miraculously produced from golden eggs, whence the name Kim, i.e. gold. The eldest ruled Great Karak, also called Kaya.⁷ The other five became chiefs of the five Kaya, named respectively Ara-kaya, Kon-yōng-Kaya, Great Kaya, Syōngsan-Kaya, and Little Kaya. This description is suggestive of a confederation of states under the leadership of one of their number, but the relationship between them is by no means clear. In later times we find Kara and Kaya independent of each other, and Mimana seems then to correspond to the latter and not to the former. Kara was incorporated with Silla A. D. 532, and the same fate befel Kaya thirty years later, the last date agreeing with that given in the Nihongi for the downfall of Mimana. The name Kara was changed to Keumkwan on its becoming a province of Silla. Its chief town has been identified, I think rightly, with the present Keum-hê (金海), near the mouth of the Samlanggang.

Kara was in after times used by Japanese writers as the equivalent of the Chinese character 韓 (Han), which properly means the whole country of Korea, and in modern times it is often employed in a still wider sense. But in the Nihongi there does not seem to be sufficient reason for transliterating, as is usually done, 韓 by the kana for Kara.

⁷ This must be a mistake for Kara.

If the author had intended the word *Kara*, the proper Chinese characters were ready to his hand, and indeed are actually used by him on occasion. There seems to have been quite a rage with the transliterators of the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* for rejecting all words of Chinese origin, and substituting for them native terms, or even, as in the case of *Kara*, words which have only a superficial resemblance to Japanese.

The statement quoted above from the *Nihongi* that there was enmity between *Silla* and *Mimana* is confirmed by the *Relative credibility of early Japanese & Korean History*. But the first hostilities recorded in the *Tongkam* between these two Kingdoms are dated A. D. 77.

Fighting between *Silla* and *Kaya* is mentioned in A. D. 94 to 97, and again A. D. 115 and 116, after which time their relations seem to have been friendly. There can be little doubt that these notices in the Japanese and Korean annals relate to the same event, but it will have been observed that the dates differ by a whole century. Which authority must we follow? In this particular instance there is no direct evidence in favour of either from independent sources. There are however some general considerations bearing on the relative credibility of the early Japanese and Korean records to which I would now invite attention.

Passing over everything previous to the Christian era, let us begin by taking up a similar line of inquiry to that followed by Mr. Bramsen with regard to the lengths of the sovereigns' reigns. We find that in Japan, during the first four centuries, there were only seven accessions to the throne, while for the same time there were in *Silla* sixteen, in *Kokuli* (Japanese *Koma* or *Kōrai*) seventeen, and in *Pèkché* (Japanese *Hiakusai* or *Kudara*) sixteen. The average age of these seven Japanese sovereigns was 102, one having reached the truly patriarchal age of 143 years. The ages of the Korean Kings are not usually recorded, but none of the reigns was of exorbitant⁸ length. The longest is that of a King of *Kokuli*, who reigned 70 years, and died at the age of 98. His posthumous name means "the long-lived King."

⁸ Kimshuro, the first King of *Kara*, is said to have reigned 108 years, and to have died A. D. 199, aged 150. *Kara*, however, lies rather outside the sphere of Korean history, which is properly that of the three Kingdoms of *Silla*, *Kokuli*, and *Pèkché*.

The following table will give some idea of what may be regarded as a reasonable number of accessions to the throne during a space of four hundred years.

Country.	A. D.	No. of accessions.
Japan	1-400	7
Silla	do.	16
Kokuli	do.	17
Pekché	do.	16
China	do.	38
Japan	400-800	33
Silla	do.	22
China	662-1062	36
do.	1062-1462	35
do.	1462-1862	17
France	1000-1400	16
do.	1400-1800	15
England	1087-1487	15
do.	1487-1887	21
Scotland	1167-1567	19
Wales	840-1240	17

It appears therefore that the number of accessions recorded in the Korean annals during the period A. D. 1-400 is by no means without precedent, whereas Japanese history stands alone in having only seven accessions during this time, the lowest number which I have been able to discover in any other country for a similar period being fifteen. This fact speaks volumes for the superior credibility of the Korean chronicles.

Let us now compare the means of recording events which existed in the two countries during this period.

Writing in Korean and Japan. Setting aside, with all competent judges, the so-called "Kami-yo no moji" as an invention of a much later age, it seems clear that until the introduction of Chinese learning, oral tradition alone must have been depended on both in Korea and Japan. Without some artificial aids to the memory, no history is possible for more than a very few generations, and it is therefore important to inquire into the circumstances under which the two countries first became acquainted with the art of writing. There are clear indications, to which

I shall advert presently, that the Chinese character was not entirely unknown either in Corea or Japan previous to A. D. 372, but the first direct and positive information which we possess on the subject belongs to that year. After relating the first introduction of Buddhism into Kokuli from the Kingdom of Tsin in Western China, the Tongkam goes on to say "Kokuli established a High School where pupils were "instructed." Three years later (A.D. 375) the same work contains the following notice. "Pèkché appoints a certain Kohung as Professor. "It was not till now that Pèkché had any records. This country had no "writing previous to this time."⁹ No similar record has reached us in regard to Silla, but it is probable that the systematic study of Chinese was established in that Kingdom about the same time. It will be shown later that the arrival in Japan of Wani, the Corean teacher of Chinese, must be assigned to A. D. 405 instead of A. D. 285, the date according to the accepted Japanese chronology.

But although these notices may be regarded as recording the first regular and systematic study of Chinese in Japan and Corea, there is good reason to believe that some knowledge of the Chinese written character existed in both countries from a considerably earlier date. Corea was conquered by China in the second century before Christ. Part of the country remained for some time longer a Chinese province, where official records were doubtless kept, and which must have been to some extent a centre for the propagation of Chinese learning. We find further traces of Chinese influence in the establishment of ancestral shrines in Pèkché (B. C. 2) and Silla (A. D. 6), and in the worship of the five Emperors in Pèkché (A.D. 2) and of Heaven and Earth in the same Kingdom (A.D. 20). The King of Kokuli is stated to have had a Chinese lady as consort B. C. 16. The King of Silla sent a writing to Pèkché A.D. 125, and towards the middle of the next century we find Chinese Governors at Lolang (now Phyōngyang in Phyōngando) and at Thépang, (now Namwōn in Chōllado), the latter of whom is stated to have communicated by letter with the ruler of Japan. A written communication was made to Japan from the court of China

⁹ Curiously enough, the Tongkam states, only a few pages before, that in A. D. 373, the King of Pèkché sent a letter to Silla.

about the same time, and a written reply received. A postal service *viâ* Corea is even mentioned, by which communications were exchanged between the two countries.

The Silla annals state that a letter was received by the King of that country from the King of Wa A.D. 345, i.e. sixty years before Wani's arrival there.

We gather from these facts that what may be called the established study of Chinese began in Corea thirty years before it reached Japan, and that while both countries had already some acquaintance with the Chinese character, Corea had plainly better opportunities than Japan of acquiring its use.

Nengô (年號) or year-periods were introduced in Silla A.D. 536, but in Japan not until A.D. 645, a fact of some importance, if, as I suspect, time had previously been reckoned chiefly by the sexagenary cycle, a system which affords much opportunity for error whenever long periods are concerned.

The matter-of-fact character of the early Korean history as compared with that of Japan, and the circumstance that it comprises the annals of three independent Kingdoms, which must have been to some extent a check on each other, tend also to confirm the view of its superior credibility.

But the most decisive proof of this is the confirmation which Korean history derives from that of China. A comparison¹⁰ of sixteen notices by Chinese writers of events in Corea during the first five centuries of our era with the corresponding Korean accounts yields the following results.

During the first century, one date (A.D. 32) agrees, one seems to disagree, and in one Korean history is silent.

During the second century, three dates agree, one disagrees wholly, and in one, Korean history is silent.

During the third century, there are two cases of agreement, in a third the Tongkam is silent.

In the fourth century, there is agreement in one case; in one the Tongkam is silent.

Agreement of
Korean and
Chinese chro-
nology.

¹⁰ Materials do not exist for a similar comparison of Chinese and Japanese dates.

In the fifth century, there are three cases in all of which the same dates are given by Chinese and Korean history.

I submit that the above considerations entitle us to assume that whenever Japanese and Korean history are in conflict, as they often are during this period, the balance of probability is much in favour of the Korean version of the occurrence, more especially in the matter of chronology. The absolute authority, however, of the Tongkam and other Korean records is another question. For the first century at least, they contain much that is suspicious.¹¹

To return to Sonakashichi, the Mimana envoy to Japan. There can now be little hesitation in placing his arrival there a century later than the date assigned to it by the Nihongi.

The same authority mentions under the date B.C. 27 the arrival in Japan of a Silla prince named Amanohihoko (a suspiciously Japanese-looking name) with presents for the Mikado of precious stones, a sword, a mirror, etc. Korean history makes no mention of this embassy, and much that is related in connection with it bears a very mythical aspect.

From the history of Korea during the first two centuries of the Christian era a few scanty notices may be gleaned of events connected with Japan. Japanese descents on the East Coast of Korea are mentioned in the Silla annals under the dates A. D. 14, 73 and 121. The last was sufficiently formidable to require an army of 1,000 men to repel it. Friendly intercourse between Silla and Japan is noted in A. D. 59, 122, and 158. I have not found anything in Japanese history which can be clearly identified with any of these events.

The last year of the second century was distinguished, according to the Nihongi, by an event of capital importance in Japanese history, viz., the celebrated invasion of Korea.

Jingô Kôgu's
Invasion of
Korea.

¹¹ I was in hopes that a notice in the Tongkam under A.D. 302 would have enabled me to fix decisively one date in Korean history. It is as follows: "Summer, 4th month (began May 14-15) Pêkché: Comet visible daytime." But Dr. Knott, who has been good enough to examine for me the European notices of important comets about this time, informs me that the nearest to A.D. 302 appeared in April A.D. 295. The Korean date must therefore be wrong, or, what is probable enough, a comet was seen in 302 of which no other record has reached us.

by the Empress Jingô-Kôgu. The Nihongi tells us¹² that the Empress Jingô, grieving for her husband's death, which he had brought on himself by his disobedience to the divine command, resolved to atone for his misconduct by conquering the "land of riches"¹³ herself. After causing various propitiatory ceremonies to be performed, she proceeded to subdue the rebellious Kumaso, one of whom gave some trouble, as he had wings and was a good flyer. She next visited Matsura¹⁴ in Hizen, where she drew a favourable omen for the projected enterprise from her successful trout-fishing in a stream there. To this day the trout in that stream will not take the bait offered by a man. Women are the only successful anglers. Passing over another miraculous occurrence, and a speech made by the Empress to her Ministers, we are further informed that in the autumn the Empress commanded ships to be assembled from all the provinces, and arms to be prepared. But a sword and spear had to be offered in one of the shrines before this order could be obeyed. When this was done, the fleet assembled of its own accord. She then ordered a fisherman to go out on the western sea, and spy if any land was to be seen there. He returned and said, "I see no land." Another fisherman was sent, who returned after several days and said, "To the Northwest there is a mountain extending across the horizon, and partly hidden by clouds. This is perhaps a country." A lucky day was then fixed upon. When it arrived the Empress took her battle-axe in her hand, and thus addressed her troops, who formed three divisions: "If the drums are beaten out of time, and "the signal-flags are waved confusedly, order cannot be preserved in "the army; too eager a desire for booty will lead to your being taken "prisoners. Despise not the enemy, though his numbers may be few; "shrink not from him though his numbers be many. Spare not the "violent; slay not the submissive. The victors shall surely sooner or "later be rewarded; those who run away shall surely be punished." Two deities were to accompany the expedition, one of gentle disposition,

¹²I have somewhat abridged the original narrative.

¹³A strange name for Corea! Had the circumstance that Keum-syông, the name of the Silla capital means "Golden City," anything to do with it?

¹⁴The Nihongi says it was then called Metsura 梅豆羅. An embassy from a King of 南土地 in Japan is mentioned in Chinese History.

for Kokuli also betrays a recent origin. The mention of books (by which official archives seem to be meant) nearly two centuries before the regular study of Chinese was introduced either in Corea or Japan, is, to say the least, a very suspicious circumstance. That the author of the story knew very little about Corea is shown by the fact that the King of Silla named by him reigned A. D. 80 to 112, or about 100 years before Jingô Kôgu, and that the name of the hostage sent by him is identical with that of the Prince sent A. D. 402 according to Corean history as a hostage to Japan. The details mentioned leave no doubt that both records relate to the same person, and this being so, the Corean date is in all probability the true one. The official title given him by the Nihongi was not invented until after Jingô Kôgu's death. In short it is tolerably obvious that the author of the legend brought him in simply to adorn his tale of the conquest of Corea.

The absolute silence of Chinese and Corean history with regard to an event which, if it had ever occurred, must have affected both countries so profoundly, is almost sufficient in itself to satisfy us that the whole story is a mere fiction, with about as much historical foundation as the legend of the Argonauts or the tale of Troy divine, with which indeed it presents obvious analogies. We shall see presently that China had at this time territory in Corea under the rule of Chinese Governors, and that the Chinese were not unacquainted with Japanese events. Nor had the Corean annalists any objection to recording invasions by Japan when they occurred, which was by no means unfrequently. In the year 200, however, no such event is mentioned either in Chinese or Corean history. An apparently unimportant descent on Silla took place in 209, a more serious one in 233, when the Japanese ships were burnt and their crews massacred, and a still more formidable one in 249, when a Silla statesman, who had brought on the invasion by using insulting language towards the Sovereign of Japan in presence of a Japanese Ambassador, gave himself up to the Japanese in the hope of appeasing their anger. They burnt him, and proceeded to besiege Keum-syông, the Silla Capital, but were ultimately beaten off. No less than 25 descents by Japanese on the Silla coast are mentioned in Corean history in the first five centuries of the Christian era, but it is impossible to identify any of them with Jingô Kôgu's expedition.

It may seem a pity to have to abandon all faith in so pretty a legend, and perhaps some of Jingô Kôgu's fellow countrymen will resent what may be thought an attempt to take away her glory as a conqueror. But ought it not after all to be more satisfactory to her admirers, and more really to her honour, to believe that she was never guilty of the wickedness of making war on a country which had not given her the smallest cause of offence, or of the folly of embarking on a foreign expedition at a time when rebellion was rife in her own land ?

Though it is probable that no Jingô Kôgu ever conquered Korea, we may still hold to the belief that Japan Chinese notices of Japan in Jingô Kôgu's reign. was ruled in the first half of the third century by a princess of remarkable ability, who put down rebellion with a firm hand, and procured for her country the blessings of peace during a long and prosperous reign. The notices of Japan which we now begin to find in Chinese writers tend to confirm the statements of the Nihongi in this respect. They contain some "travellers' tales," and are obscured by fables and errors, but they give us nevertheless much valuable information which has hardly received the attention it deserves. I may therefore be excused for quoting from them at some length.¹⁶

In the Later Han (A.D. 25-220) writings we find the following. "The Was dwell south-east of Han (Korea) in a mountainous island in the midst of the ocean. Their country is divided into more than 100 provinces. Since the time when Wu Ti (B. C. 140-86) overthrew Korea, they have communicated with the Han authorities by means of a postal service. There are thirty-two provinces which do so, all of which style (their rulers) Kings, who are hereditary. The sovereign of Great Wa resides in Yamato, distant 12,000 li from the frontier of the province of Lolang.¹⁷ Lolang is 7,000 li distant from Kuya han (狗邪韓) on its N.W. boundary. Wa lies nearly east¹⁸ of the east coast of Kwai Ki (in Chekiang), and therefore the laws and customs are similar. The soil is favourable for the production of grain and hemp, and for the

¹⁶ These extracts are from the I-shô-nihon-den.

¹⁷ Now Ph'yŏng-yang, in Korea.

¹⁸ This description corresponds nearly to the position of Loochoo. But we shall see later on that the Chinese at this time imagined that Yamato lay somewhere to the South of Kiushiu.

"cultivation of the silk mulberry. They understand the art of weaving. "The country produces white pearls and green jade. There is cinnabar "in the mountains. The climate is mild, and vegetables can be grown "both in winter and in summer. There are no oxen, horses, tigers, "leopards, or magpies.¹⁹ Their soldiers have spears and shields, wooden "bows and bamboo arrows, which are sometimes tipped with bone. The men "all tattoo their faces and adorn their bodies with designs. Differences "of rank are indicated by the position and size of the patterns. The "men's clothing is fastened breadth-wise and consists of one piece of "cloth. The women tie their hair in a bow, and their clothing resembles "our gowns of one thickness of cloth. It is put on by being passed over "the head.²⁰ They use pink and scarlet to smear their bodies with, as "rice-powder is used in China. They have stockaded forts and houses. "Father and mother, elder and younger brothers and sisters live sepa- "rately, but at meetings there is no distinction on account of sex. They "take their food with their hands, but have bamboo trays and wooden "trenchers to place it on. It is their general custom to go barefoot. "Respect is shown by squatting down. They are much given to strong "drink. They are a long-lived race, and persons who have reached 100 "are very common. The women are more numerous than the men. "All men of high rank have four or five wives; others two or three. "The women are faithful and not jealous. There is no theft, and litiga- "tion is unfrequent. The wives and children of those who break the "laws are confiscated, and for grave crimes the offender's family is ex- "tirpated. Mourning lasts for some ten days only, during which time "the members of the family weep and lament, whilst their friends come "singing, dancing and making music. They practice divination by "burning bones,²¹ and by that means they ascertain good and bad

¹⁹ It seems strange that Japan should have possessed neither oxen nor horses at this time. But the Japanese, like the Corean, word for 'horse' is admittedly Chinese, and the Japanese 'ushi,' ox, may come from the Corean *so*. There are magpies in Japan (another reading is 'barn-door fowls'), but they are by no means common, and a traveller coming from Corea, where they abound, might well be struck by their absence.

²⁰ A later writer understands this to mean that the head was passed through a hole in the cloth, in the fashion of an Indian blanket.

²¹ As we also learn from the Manyōshū.

“ luck, and whether or not to undertake journeys and voyages. They
 “ appoint a man whom they style the ‘mourning-keeper.’ He is not
 “ allowed to comb his hair, to wash, to eat meat, or to approach women.
 “ When they are fortunate, they make him valuable presents; but if they
 “ fall ill, or meet with disaster, they set it down to the mourning-keeper’s
 “ failure to observe his vows, and together they put him to death.

“ In the second year of Chung-yuan (A.D. 57), in the reign of
 “ Kwang-wu, the Wunu country sent an envoy with tribute, who styled
 “ himself Daibu (大夫). He came from the most southern part of the
 “ Wa country. Kwang-wu presented him with a seal and ribbon.

“ In first year of Yung-ch’u (A.D. 107), in the reign of Ngan-ti, a
 “ king of Wa presented 160 living persons, and made a request for an
 “ interview.

“ During the reigns of Hwan-ti and Ling-ti (A.D. 147 to 190) Wa
 “ was in a state of great confusion, and there was civil war for many
 “ years, during which time there was no chief. Then a woman arose,
 “ whose name was *Pimihu*²³ (卑彌呼). She was old and unmarried,
 “ and had devoted herself to magic arts, by which she was clever in
 “ deluding the people. The nation agreed together to set her up as
 “ Queen. She has 1000 female attendants; but few people see her face,
 “ except one man, who serves her meals, and is the medium of communi-
 “ cation with her. She dwells in a palace with lofty pavilions, surrounded
 “ by a stockade, and is protected by a guard of soldiers. The laws and
 “ customs are strict.

“ Leaving the Queen²³ country and crossing the sea to the East,
 “ one arrives after a voyage of 1000 li at the Konu (狗奴) country, the
 “ inhabitants of which are of the same race as the Was but are not sub-
 “ ject to the Queen. 4000 li to the south of the Queen country is the
 “ Chuju (朱儒) country, the inhabitants of which are from three to four
 “ feet in height. A year’s voyage by ship to the south-east, and we
 “ reach the Loh (裸) or Naked country, and the black-toothed country,
 “ which is the furthest land to which there is a postal service.”

²³ According to the Japanese pronunciation of these characters *Himeko* or *Himiko*.

²⁴ Japan is constantly styled so in the Chinese books of this period.

The Wei (A.D. 220-265) records repeat most of what Wei notices of precedes, with other particulars, of which a few may be Japan. noted here. "Crossing the sea (from Corea) for 1000 li we " come to Tsushima. The chief official of this island is called Hiku,²⁴ and " the next one to him Hinumori. It extends 400 li in each direction " and is mountainous and well-wooded. The roads are like the tracks of " wild animals. There are 1000 houses or more. They have no good " rice-fields, and the people live upon marine products. They also import " grain in ships from the north and south. Crossing the sea for 1000 li, " we arrive at another great country.²⁵ The chief official here is likewise " called Hiku, and the second official Hinumori. It extends 300 li in " both directions. There are many bamboos, trees and groves, and over " 3000 houses. Some rice-fields are seen here and there, but there is not " enough rice produced for the inhabitants. They likewise go north and " south in ships, and lay in provision of grain. Again crossing the sea " for 1000 li, we come to the Matsuro²⁶ country, which contains over " 1000 houses. Here the vegetation grows so thickly that one cannot " see one's way. The inhabitants are fond of catching fish, and plunge " into the water after them, regardless of the depth. Proceeding 500 li " by land in a S. E. direction, we come to the country of Ito²⁷ or Idzu " (伊都). The chief official is called Jishi (?) and his subordinates Yei- " moko and Heikioko. There are over 1000 houses here. There are " hereditary Kings in Ito, who all owe allegiance to the Queen country. " Local Commissioners²⁸ (郡使) are always stationed here. From thence " it is 100 li in a S. Easterly direction to the Nu or Do²⁹ (奴) country. " The designation of the chief official here is Kiobako, and of the subor- " dinate one Hinumori. There are more than 30,000 houses. Proceed-

²⁴ I give the Japanese pronunciation of these words, which is probably not quite accurate, but just as likely to be correct as the modern mandarin sounds.

²⁵ Iki?

²⁶ Probably Matsura in Hizen, close to the Spex Straits. It is mentioned in the Jingô Kôgu legend.

²⁷ This may be the Kôri of Ito in Chikuzen often mentioned in the ancient history of Japan. It lies however N. E. and not S. E. of Matsura.

²⁸ Apparently somewhat like British Residents at the courts of Indian Princes.

²⁹ Udo in Higo?

“ing eastward 100 li we come to the Fumi country. The chief official
 “is called Tamo, and the subordinate one Hinumori. There are here
 “1000 houses. Proceeding south from Do for twenty days by water we
 “arrive at the Toma country, where the chief official is styled Mimi, and
 “the second official Miminari. There are probably 50,000 houses here.
 “Thence proceeding to the south ten days by water and one month by
 “land, we arrive at the country of Yamato.⁸⁰ The chief official is styled
 “Ishima, the next Mibasho, the next Mibakakushi and the next Dogatei.
 “There are probably 70,000 houses. North (west?) of the Queen
 “country we must leave out the distances, numbers of houses, etc.⁸¹
 “This is the limit of the Queen’s dominions, south (east?), of which is
 “the Konu country, where a King holds rule. It is not subject to
 “the Queen. From the capital to the Queen country is over 2000 li.⁸²

“The men,⁸³ both small and great, tattoo their faces and work
 “designs on their bodies. They have arrow-heads of iron as well as of
 “bone. They use only an inner, and no outer coffin. When the funeral

⁸⁰Yamato is nearly due east of Tsushima, yet here is the itinerary which we extract from the above account.

Tsushima to Iki (?)	S. 1000 li by sea.
Iki (?) to Matsuro	— 1000 li by sea.
Matsuro to Ito	S. E. 1000 li by land.
Ito to Do	S. E. 100 li by land.
Do to Fumi	E. 100 li by land.
Fumi to Toma	S. 20 days by sea.
Toma to Yamato	S. 10 days by sea and 1 month by land.

The Chinese therefore apparently laboured at this time under the strange misconception that Yamato lay very nearly south of Tsushima. This explains more than one difficulty in these extracts. We have only to read East for South and North for West to make things intelligible.

⁸¹Here follow the names of 17 provinces, among which Shima, Kii and Iga, may be somewhat doubtfully recognized. I suspect the Chinese traveller from whom these accounts were derived never got any further than Kiushu.

⁸²These notices appear to show that Queen Himeko’s dominions extended no further East than the Owari gulf. We can only conjecture where the Konu capital was—perhaps not far from the present city of Tokio. The Chinese statements as to distances are very wild.

⁸³This must apply to the whole country.

"is over, the whole family go into the water and wash. They have distinctions of rank, and some are vassals to others. Taxes are collected. There are markets in each province where they exchange their superfluous produce for articles of which they are in want. They are under the supervision of Great Wa. North (i. e. West) of the Queen Country there is a high official stationed specially for purposes of examination. He is feared by all the provinces. He usually governs the province of Ito. In the interior of the country (or of the province?) there are officials resembling the Chinese sub-prefects. When the sovereign of Wa sends envoys to the capital (of Wei), the province of Thépang, the three Han, and the local commissioners (郡使), also the Wa country search and lay open everything at the ports or crossing-places before passing on the documents and the objects sent as presents, so that when they are brought to the Queen there shall be no mistake.

"When men of the lower class meet a man of rank, they leave the road, and retire to the grass. When they address him, they either squat or kneel with both hands to the ground. This is their way of showing respect. They express assent by the sound *â*.

"They had formerly Kings, but for seventy or eighty years there was great confusion and civil war prevailed. After a time they agreed to set up a woman named Himeko as their sovereign. She had no husband, but her younger brother assisted her in governing the country. After she became Queen, few persons saw her.

"The ambassador sent by the Queen of Wa in A.D. 238 first went to the province (i. e. Thépang), where he asked leave to proceed with tribute to the Emperor. The Tasu (governor) sent messengers with him to the capital. In the 12th month an Imperial answer⁸⁴ was "given."

The Tasu subsequently sent officers to Japan with an Imperial rescript, to which a written reply was received. Communications were also exchanged in A.D. 243 and 245.

⁸⁴It is given in full in the *Ishô nihonden*, vol. i, and will repay a perusal. The Queen receives the title of Queen of Wa and Friend of Wei. She is thanked for her tribute, which consisted of four male and six female slaves and of pieces of cloth. A gold seal and purple ribbon are entrusted to her, which the Tasu of Thépang is charged to deliver.

"In 247," the Wei records go on to state, "during the Tasu-ship of Wangkin, a messenger came to him from Wa to explain the causes of the enmity which had always prevailed between Queen Himeko and Himekuko, King of Koku. A letter was sent admonishing them. At this time Queen Himeko died. A great mound was raised over her, more than a hundred paces in diameter, and over 1000 of her male and female attendants followed her in death.⁸⁵ Then a King was raised to the throne, but the people would not obey him, and civil war again broke out, not less than one thousand persons being slain. A girl of thirteen, relative of Himeko, named Iyo (or Ichiyo), was then made Queen and order was restored. One of the officers sent from Thèpang despatched to Queen Iyo an admonitory letter, after which he was sent back under escort to his own country."

In another work of the Wei period we are told that "the Was are not acquainted with the New Year or the four seasons, but reckon the year by the spring cultivation of the fields, and by the autumn in-gathering of the crops."⁸⁶

⁸⁵ This would seem to prove that the custom of burying men and women alive around the tombs of great people, though said to have been abolished by Suinin Tennô A.D. 3, was still occasionally practised.

⁸⁶ It is not quite clear what is meant by this. It may mean simply that the Japanese reckoned their year from the spring or autumn equinox and not from the New Year, and it may not have been intended to imply that their year consisted of only six months. Another writer says that the Was reckoned their year from autumn to autumn. But if the late Mr. Bramsen had been acquainted with this passage, he would doubtless have not unreasonably regarded it as lending strong support to his theory that the Japanese up to the end of Nintoku Tennô's reign counted their years from equinox to equinox, making them only six months long. This would explain the apparently abnormal lengths of the reigns and lives of the Emperors up to that time. So simple an explanation, however, is far from clearing up all difficulties, and it is attended with some of its own. If we accept Mr. Bramsen's theory, the Jingô Kôgu of the Nihongi, and the Himeko of Chinese history must have been two distinct persons—a highly improbable supposition. Nor is this all. If the years consisted of six months each, the months, of which there were twelve to the year, must have been of only fifteen days and the days of only twelve hours. We shall see later that some of the errors of the early Japanese chronology must be ascribed to other causes than that suggested by Mr. Bramsen.

The substantial accuracy of the above extracts will hardly be questioned. The scraps of Japanese history which they contain are not only confirmed in a general way by the native histories of the same time, but there is other evidence of their faithfulness to fact.

There can be no hesitation in identifying the "mourning-keeper" of the Chinese notices with the Imibe, i.e. the abstainers or mourners of early Japanese History.⁸⁷

The burial of Queen Himeko under an immense mound, and the death or sacrifice of her retainers at the tomb are in accordance with what we know of the early Japanese customs. Indeed the Misasagi or Sepulchral mound ascribed to Jingô Kôgu near Nara quite answers the above description. It is true that the date (A.D. 247) given by the Chinese writers for the death of Queen Himeko, and the narrative of the events connected with the appointment of her successor do not accord with the Japanese histories. But it is hardly likely that the Chinese contemporary annalists could have been altogether mistaken about circumstances in which they plainly took a keen interest, and the immoderate length assigned by the Japanese to Jingô Kôgu's reign shows that there must be something decidedly wrong in their history at this point.

One Japanese writer mocks at the Chinese for giving the name Himeko to the Empress Jingô Kôgu or Oki-naga-tarashi-hime no mikoto. He forgets that the latter name was posthumous, as the Nihongi plainly tells us. It was suggested by the great age to which she lived, Oki-naga meaning "long-lived." The title Jingô Kôgu belongs of course to a period when the knowledge of Chinese had become common. But it is surely obvious that Himeko means simply "princess" and is not a name at all. The reluctance of Easterns to make common use of the names of their sovereigns is well known. In A.D. 600 there is an instance of a Japanese Ambassador to China, who, when asked the name of his King, replied "Ame-no-watarishi-hiko," i.e. "the heaven-descended prince." The Chinese cut this into two, taking one-half for the surname and the other for his personal name.

⁸⁷ Vide Chamberlain's translation of the Kojiki, notes to pp. 110 and 151, and Satow's *Ancient Japanese Rituals*, No. 1, p. 126, note 44.

After the middle of the third century, there is a break of a century and a half, during which Chinese history makes but little mention of Japanese affairs.

Silla & Japan
A.D. 250-400. The Silla annals of this period contain the following notices of relations with Japan.

A.D. 294. The Japanese make an unsuccessful attempt to take a Silla fortress.

A.D. 295. The King of Silla consults his Council with regard to the continual attacks on his towns and fortresses by the Japanese, and proposes that an alliance should be formed with Pèkché against them. His Ministers dissuade him from doing so, on the ground of the danger of undertaking a distant expedition with men unaccustomed to naval warfare. The proposal of the King falls to the ground.

A.D. 300. An Embassy from Japan arrives in Silla. A return Embassy is sent.

A.D. 312. The Japanese seek a matrimonial alliance with Silla. The daughter of a Silla noble is sent.

A.D. 344. The Japanese ask again for a matrimonial alliance. Their request is not complied with.

A.D. 345. The Japanese *write* to break off intercourse with Silla.

A.D. 346. The Japanese attack Keumsyōng, which they are on the point of capturing, when their provisions having become exhausted, they are obliged to raise the siege.

A.D. 364. The Japanese invade Silla, but are defeated with great slaughter.

A.D. 393. The Japanese attack Keumsyōng. They lay siege to it for five days, but are ultimately driven off.

Allowance being made for exaggerations and omissions due to Silla national vanity, there seems reason to believe that these statements are substantially correct. The Japanese chronicles contain little or nothing which corresponds to them, but we have here in all probability the basis of truth on which the Jingō Kōgu legend of the conquest of Corea rests.

We now come to a series of events in the history of Pèkché and Japanese relations with the Korean Kingdom of Pèkché, the Japan A.D.
365-405. records of which are distinguished by the peculiarity that the Japanese and Corean dates differ by exactly 120 years.

They occupy the period of 40 years from A.D. 245 to 285 according to the Japanese chronology, and from A.D. 365 to 405 according to the Tongkam. The Nihongi informs us that in A.D. 245, Shima no Sukune was sent to Tokshiu (in Mimana), where he learned that Pèkché was anxious to establish friendly relations with Japan. In the following year he proceeded to Pèkché, then ruled by King Syoko.⁸⁸ A year later a return embassy was sent by Pèkché to Japan. In A.D. 249, continues the Nihongi, an attack was made on Silla by a combined force of Japanese and Pèkché men, which resulted in the defeat of the Silla troops, and the conquest of Hishiwo, S. Kara, Tokn, Ara, Tara, Toksyu, and Kara. In this account, King Syoko's name is correctly given, and that of his son Kwisu very nearly so. It is probable therefore that the Nihongi's statements are not without some historical foundation. But as they stand, they cannot be correct. King Syoko reigned a century later than the date given for this invasion, and the places mentioned as having been conquered from Silla, belong, in so far as they can be identified, to Mimana. The Kojiki does not mention the expedition. Two attacks on Silla by Japanese are spoken of by the Corean chronicles as having occurred in King Syoko's reign. One of these was by sea, and could not have been that referred to by the Nihongi; but the other, which took place A.D. 364, may possibly have been the same as that here mentioned, though according to the Corean accounts the Japanese were defeated with great slaughter. The Tongkam has no mention of hostilities between Silla and Pèkché during this reign, but there was a good deal of fighting between Silla and Kokuli.

Under the dates A. D. 250 and 251 there are notices in the Nihongi which show that the friendly relations between Pèkché and Japan were continued. In A.D. 255, according to that work, King Syoko of Pèkché died. The Tongkam dates this event in A.D. 375, making a difference of exactly 120 years. A few years later, the Nihongi quotes from a Pèkché history a passage where the year of the sexagenary cycle alone is mentioned, viz., 壬午 or *midzu no ye muma*. This is taken to be A.D. 260, whereas the real date is in all probability

⁸⁸ There are two Kings of this name in Corean history. King Syoko I. reigned A.D. 166-214; King Syoko II. A.D. 346-375. The latter is evidently the one here referred to.

A. D. 380. In A.D. 264, the Nihongi notes the death of Kwisu, King of Pèkché, an event which, by the Corean records, occurred in A.D. 384, again a difference of 120 years. In A.D. 265 (Corean date 385) his successor died.

The circumstance of the next heir being considered too young to succeed to the throne is mentioned both by the Nihongi and the Tongkam.

In A.D. 272, says the Nihongi, King Sinsă of Pèkché was disrespectful to Japan. Ōjin Tennô sent to demand satisfaction, whereupon the Pèkché people put their King to death. The Japanese then established Prince Ahwa on the throne. The Tongkam says simply, "King Sinsă died A.D. 392 (observe again the difference of 120 years) and "was succeeded by King Ahwa." This story is not mentioned in the Kojiki, and what is unmistakeably the same event is related over again by the Nihongi as having happened in Nintoku Tennô's reign, 81 years later.

Another occurrence as to the date of which the Japanese and Corean records differ by 120 years is one of capital importance in the history of Japan, viz., the arrival from Pèkché of a teacher of Chinese for the Prince Imperial. This led to the general study of the Chinese language throughout the country, and was perhaps the greatest step towards civilization ever taken by Japan.

Under the date A.D. 277, the Nihongi contains the following brief notice: "People from Pèkché came to the Court." An extract, however, from a Corean writer is added, to the following effect. "King Ahwa⁸⁹ "came to the throne, and was disrespectful to the honourable country "(Japan). Wherefore we were deprived of Tommitare, Kennan, Shishi, "and Yama in Eastern Han. The King's son, Toshi or Toji (直支) was "then sent to the Celestial Court to renew the friendly relations existing "under former Kings." This must be the event which the Tongkam relates as follow: "A.D. 397. Pèkché makes friends with Wa: Prince "Työnji (贖支) is sent as hostage." It has been stated above that Pèkché appointed a Professor of Chinese in A.D. 374. Prince Työnji was probably one of his pupils.

⁸⁹ The Nihongi says it was King Sinsă who was disrespectful to Japan.

"In A.D. 284 (404 ?)," says the Nihongi, "the King of Pèkché sends Atogi (阿直岐) with tribute of two good horses. Atogi was placed in charge of the Imperial stables. He could read the classics well, and the Heir Apparent became his pupil. The Emperor asked him whether there were any better scholars in Pèkché than himself. He said 'Yes, one Wani,' whereupon a Japanese official was sent to bring him. This Atogi (also transliterated Achiki) was the ancestor of the Achiki scribes."

The Nihongi further tells us that Wani arrived in the following year, A.D. 285 (405 ?) and became the instructor of the Prince in the classics.⁴¹ Wani⁴² was the progenitor of the scholars of that name. In this year King Ahwa died. The Emperor sent for Prince Toji⁴³ and said to him, "Go back to your country and succeed to the throne." The Emperor then presented to him Eastern Han, and so dismissed him.

In this same year, 285, we find mention in the Nihongi of an expedition to Silla to bring away the people of a Pèkché Prince who had desired to emigrate with them to Japan two years before, but had been prevented by Silla from doing so. This expedition was successful. It is perhaps the one referred to by a Korean history (not the Tongkam) quoted in the *Ishō ni hon den*, which says that the Japanese made a

⁴⁰ The Kojiki places this event in King Syoko's reign (A.D. 346-375) and calls Atogi, Achikishi (阿知吉師).

⁴¹ The Kojiki mentions the *Senjimon*, or Thousand Character Classic, among Wani's books. The *Senjimon*, as it now stands, was written after A.D. 500, but there is reason to believe that this work, in an older form, dates from the first century. Dr Hoffmann thinks that Japan's going to Pèkché for a teacher of Chinese implies that Silla was behindhand in gaining a knowledge of that language. The real reason was doubtless that Japan's relations with Pèkché were friendly, but with Silla generally of a hostile character.

⁴² There were Wani's in Japan before this time.

⁴³ The Nihongi narrative makes two distinct persons of Atogi and Toji, and there is no mention of the arrival of the latter, except in a note, which I take to have been a later addition. But the similarity of the characters with which it writes these two names and other circumstances, suggest the suspicion that they were in reality one and the same person. Otherwise, why is the arrival of a tribute messenger and of a Chinese tutor carefully noted while no mention is made of the coming to Japan of the heir to the throne of one of the Korean kingdoms? The Kojiki speaks of only two persons, Achikishi and Wani.

descent on Silla in A.D. 405, and again on the South and East coasts of that country in 407. On the latter occasion 100 Koreans were carried off.

The cause of the discrepancy of 120 years between the Cause of discrepancy of Japanese and Korean chronologies during this period of 40 years is not far to seek. It was obviously occasioned by the use (common in China, Korea, and Japan) of the sexagenary cycle as a system of reckoning time. A passage quoted in the Nihongi from a Korean history during this very period is dated in this fashion, and many similar instances might be given. The Koreans at the present day use it oftener than any other system, and this was also the case in Japan until quite recently. But the sexagenary cycle has one grave disadvantage. It affords no means of deciding to which cycle of sixty years a given date belongs. 壬午, *midzu no ye mu-ma*; the date mentioned above, might be A.D. 200, 260, 320, 380, 440 or any other year at an interval of sixty years, or a multiple of that number. In writing the history of an obscure period from documents dated in this way, it is obviously easy to make a mistake as to the proper cycle, while the year of the cycle, or *yeto*, may be correctly given. This is precisely what the writer of the Nihongi seems to have done. But, it may be asked, why should not the compiler of the Nihongi be right in this matter, and the Tongkam wrong in the Chinese dates which it assigns to Korean events? In addition to the general considerations already touched upon as to the relative trustworthiness of Japanese and Korean history, it may be pointed out that several of these notices refer to the deaths of Korean Kings, just the kind of event as to which their history is least likely to be mistaken, and that one case in which Korean chronology is confirmed by that of China belongs to the year 382; right in the middle of the period we are at present dealing with. There may, too, have been a special temptation to the compiler of the Nihongi, or possibly some earlier annalist, to tamper with the chronology which resulted from the materials before him. Something of this kind may have happened. Finding a wide gap⁴⁴ in the records between Jingô

⁴⁴ Perhaps caused by the fire which destroyed most of the archives of the Japanese Government in A.D. 645.

Kôgu and Ôjin Tennô, he extended Jingô Kôgu's reign forward from A. D. 247 (the date of her death according to Chinese authorities) to 269. This made her exactly one hundred years of age, which he may have thought far enough to venture. But an interval still remained, which he filled up by lengthening backwards the reigns of Ôjin and Nintoku. What was to be done under these circumstances with the Korean events with which we have just been dealing, and which were probably found recorded in a separate manuscript? There would be a desire to assign them to their proper Japanese reigns, and yet, as far as possible, not to alter the *yeto*. But they do not all belong to the same reign, and to refer each to its proper reign would have placed them too far apart, so the earlier alone were allotted to the reign they really belong to, and the others (some of which may have taken place under forgotten Sovereigns) left to follow anyhow, the correct *yeto* being left unchanged, though the cycle was wrong by 120 years. This is of course purely a hypothesis. But doubtless some such manipulation of the chronology really did occur, in which a gap in the Japanese records, and the doubt attaching to the sexagenary cycle system played an important part.

After the year 400 we come to a number of events in Events of 5th century wrongly dated by Nihongi. After the year 400 we come to a number of events in which the Japanese annalists have not been so careful to preserve the correct *yeto*, or year of the cycle. It has been already mentioned that the circumstance of a hostage being sent by Silla to Japan, which the Nihongi assigns to the year A.D. 200, really belongs to A.D. 402. His return to his own country, which the Nihongi states to have occurred in A. D. 205, did not take place until A.D. 418, i.e. 213 years later.

An event mentioned by the Nihongi under the date 297, if it had occurred at all, would have to be placed somewhere near the beginning of the fifth century. It is there stated that the King of Koryô sent presents to Japan with a letter in which he used the expression, "The King of Koryô instructs the King of Nippon." It was read by Wani's pupil, who in his indignation at the offensive word "instructs," tore it to pieces. This story professes to give the exact terms of the Korean missive. It may be sufficient to remark that Japan was not known as Nippon until A.D. 670, and that Kokuli was not Koryô until still later.

In A.D. 356 the Nihongi speaks of an invasion of Silla, when the inhabitants of four villages were carried off as slaves. There is a notice (A.D. 462) in one of the Korean histories which may refer to this event. One thousand persons are said to have been captured by the Japanese.

After A.D. 365 there is a break of 49 years, during which the Nihongi makes no mention of Korea. This tends to confirm the view that some of the events belonging to this period have been dated too early.

The Nihongi notes, under the dates 403 and 405, two events, viz., the appointment of recorders, and the establishment of a Finance Department, which, if the above opinion as to the date of the introduction of Chinese learning by Wani in 405 is correct, must be placed a good deal later.

In 429,⁴⁵ according to a Korean writer quoted in the Nihongi, King Kéro (蓋鹵王) ascended the throne of Pèkché. The Tongkam places this event in A.D. 455. This is the nearest approach to an agreement between the Japanese and Korean chronologies which we have as yet come to.

A.D. 461 is noteworthy as being the first date of the accepted Japanese chronology which is confirmed by Korean authorities. The Nihongi tells us that in this year Prince Kasuri (加須利) of Pèkché, hearing that a Korean woman sent by him as a present to the Emperor of Japan had been put to death, resolved to send his younger brother Komukishi (軍君) to demand satisfaction. The latter, before his departure, asked for and was given one of Prince Kasuri's wives. She was then pregnant, and on the way to Japan gave birth to a child on an island, from which circumstance he received the name of Prince Shima. He afterwards reigned over Pèkché under the name of Munyōng (武寧). Komukishi arrived at the capital of Japan in the 7th month. So far the Nihongi. An extract from a history of Pèkché quoted under this passage, says: "In the year Kanoto ushi (辛丑) A.D. "461, King Kéro sent his younger brother Konkishi to Great Wa to "wait upon the Tennō and to confirm the friendship of the previous "sovereigns." The evidence here is not so satisfactory as might be

⁴⁵I suspect this to be a mere copyist's error for the real date,

wished. A writer quoted⁴⁶ in the Nihongi cannot be regarded as so good an authority as the Tongkam, which is unfortunately altogether silent as to this embassy. The Nihongi account is, however, confirmed by the fact recorded in the Tongkam that a King Kéro reigned in Pèkché from A.D. 458 to 475, so that the date 461 cannot be more than 14 years wrong at most. King Kéro's name as Prince was Kyōng-sǎ, which is not wholly unlike the name Kasuri, given him in the Nihongi. The Prince called Konkishi by the Japanese is named Konchi (昆支) in Korean history, where we are told that he was the father of King Munyōng, who came to the throne of Pèkché in A.D. 501. According to the Tongkam, the name of the latter in his youth was Prince Shima (斯摩). But the story of his birth, while it shows an acquaintance with certain facts of Korean history, has a suspicious appearance of having been invented in order to account for the name Shima, which in Japanese means "island." The Korean word for island is *syōm*.

A.D. 475 was an eventful year in Korean history. In that year the King of Kokuli attacked Pèkché, took the capital, and put the King to death. The Tongkam and another Korean history quoted in the Nihongi agree as to this date, but the Nihongi itself, wrongly no doubt, puts it a year later.

In A.D. 477,⁴⁷ according to the Nihongi, the Japanese Emperor, hearing of the conquest of Pèkché by Kokuli, gave to King Momuchiu (汶州, in Korean, Munju—文周) the district of Kumanari to govern. The Tongkam says that at this time the capital of Pèkché was removed to Ung-chin (熊津), a place which is identified by some with Ung-chōn in Chōllado. Ungchin means bear-ferry, for which the Korean words would be *Kom-naro*—not far from *Kuma-nari*. The Tongkam says nothing of any assistance given by Japan to Pèkché. King Munju, according to it, was placed on the throne by an army of 10,000 Silla troops.

In A.D. 479, the Nihongi mentions the death of King Mankin (文斤王) of Pèkché. There is no King of that name. (King Samkeun

⁴⁶ A native editor of the Nihongi is of opinion that the author of that work, finding before him materials which he could not conveniently incorporate into his narrative, but which he thought too valuable to reject altogether, relegated them to the notes. It seems more probable that they were added by a later scholar.

⁴⁷ The correct date is 476.

(三斤王), who died in that year, is doubtless meant. The first character 文 came in somehow from the name of the preceding King Munju (文周).

The Nihongi goes on to say that the Emperor Yūriaku then sent Prince Mata (末多王),⁴⁸ second son of Prince Komuki, back to Pèkché with a guard of 500 Tsukushi men. He assumed the title of King Tongsyōng (東城王). This is also the name given to him by the Tongkam, but his name as a Prince is there given as Mu-tè (牟大). He appears to have succeeded to the throne without any such interval as the Japanese narrative would imply. The Tongkam, however, does speak of Prince Tyōnji being accompanied by a guard of 100 Japanese when he returned from Japan to claim the throne of Pèkché, a statement which is corroborated by another Korean authority. The Nihongi has doubtless brought in the story of the guard of Japanese in the wrong place.

Before quitting the subject of the relations of Korea ^{Silla & Japan} with Japan during the fifth century, it may be convenient ^{in the 5th} to quote a few items from the Silla annals of this period which have not been already mentioned.

A.D. 408. The Japanese take up a military position in Tsushima.

A.D. 415. Japanese arrive at Phung-do. They are attacked and driven away.

A.D. 431. An unsuccessful descent is made by Japanese.

A.D. 440. Two descents are made by Japanese on the South and East coasts. They carry off a number of people.

A.D. 444. The Japanese besiege Keumsyōng for ten days, when their provisions fail and they retire. They are pursued by the King, contrary to the advice of his Ministers. He loses half his army and is in great personal danger, when a sudden darkness comes on. The Japanese, persuaded that he is under divine protection, go away.

A.D. 459. The Japanese with over 100 ships invade Silla on the East coast. They besiege Wōlsyōng (月城), but are driven off with the loss of half their number.

A.D. 463. The Japanese appear again. The King of Silla builds two forts as a defence against them.

⁴⁸ The right Chinese characters are given this time.

A.D. 476. Two hundred Japanese are captured in a descent on the Silla coast.

After this time the Tongkam has hardly any mention of Japan for a space of nearly 200 years. The following notices are taken from the Sam-kuk-să-kwi (三國史記), a Korean work which has been occasionally referred to in this paper.

A.D. 477. The Japanese advance by five roads with an army. They finally retire unsuccessful.

A.D. 486. The Japanese make a descent on the Silla coast.

A.D. 493. Two camps are formed as a precaution against Japanese attacks.

A.D. 500. A castle is taken by the Japanese.

The Nihongi has nothing of all this. Most of these invasions were no doubt mere piratical descents, but others, and especially those of 444 and 477, must have been very formidable,⁴⁹ and can hardly have escaped the notice of the contemporary Japanese annalists. Either, what is most probable, the records of them have been lost, or, in the confusion into which the Japanese chronology of this period has fallen, it is now impossible to say to which of them the few notices in the Nihongi refer. There can be little doubt, however, of the general fact that Japan exercised a powerful influence in Corea during this century.

Let us now turn to the notices of Japan by Chinese China & Japan
in the 5th
century. writers during this period. After a silence of more than a century and a half, the Chinese records inform us that in

A.D. 420, a Japanese sovereign sent tribute. The names of this sovereign and four of his successors are given, all of whom are stated to have sent tribute and received investiture. The following table shows the genealogy of these Kings, and the dates of their reigns as far as they can be ascertained from these notices. A similar table taken from Japanese sources is added for convenience of comparison.

⁴⁹ This is shown by the fact that in several cases the Japanese besieged Keum-syŏng, the Silla Capital, which lies well inland and so far north as the province of Kangwŏndo.

SOVEREIGNS OF JAPAN IN THE 5TH CENTURY A.D.

I. ACCORDING TO CHINESE WRITERS.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Relationship.</i>	<i>Accession.</i>	<i>Death.</i>
San..... 讃.....	..... ? .....	420 — <i>x</i>	425 + <i>x</i>
Chin ... 珍.....	Younger brother of San	425 + <i>x</i>	443 — <i>x</i>
Sai 濟.....	..... ? .....	443 — <i>x</i>	{ 451 + <i>x</i> 462 — <i>x</i>
Kō 興.....	Son of Sai.....	{ 451 + <i>x</i> 462 — <i>x</i>	478 — <i>x</i>
Mu 武.....	Younger brother of Kō.....	478 — <i>x</i>	502 + <i>x</i>

II. ACCORDING TO JAPANESE HISTORY.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Relationship.</i>	<i>Accession.</i>	<i>Death.</i>
Richiu	Son of Nintoku	400	405
Hanshō	Younger brother of Richiu	406	411
Ingiō	Younger brother of Hanshō	412	453
Ankō	Son of Ingiō	454	456
Yūriaku	Younger brother of Ankō	457	479
Seinei	Son of Yūriaku	480	484
Kenzō	Grandson of Richiu	485	487
Ninken.....	Elder brother of Kenzō	483	498
Muretsu	Son of Ninken	499	506

A very little consideration will satisfy any one that it is impossible to reconcile the chronology of these two tables. The Chinese annals have only five sovereigns where the Japanese have seven, and the lengths of the respective reigns do not even approximately agree. The names differ totally, but this is not a fatal objection, as the names both of Chinese and of Japanese derivation which we find in the Japanese histories were probably posthumous,⁶⁰ while the Chinese writers of

⁶⁰ The so-called historical names of the Japanese Emperors are admittedly posthumous. And there is some reason to believe that many of the native names are so also. It has been mentioned above that this was the case with Jingō Kōgu's name of Okinaga tarashi hime no Mikoto. It seems probable that Nintoku Tenna's name of Ōsasagi no Mikoto means simply the Emperor of the Great Sepulchral mound (*sasagi*, more usually with the honorific prefix *mi*), and had nothing to do with the character for "wren" (*sasagi*) with which it is written. The mound pointed out near Sakai as the tomb of this Emperor is the largest monument of the kind in Japan.

course mentioned these sovereigns by the names they bore in their lifetime. Notwithstanding these difficulties, it seems probable that the first five sovereigns named in each of these tables are identical. Chin is the younger brother of San, as Hanshō is of Riebin, and Sai was followed first by his son Kō, and then by Kō's younger brother Mu, which is the exact order of succession of Ingiō, Ankō and Yūriaku. It is true that the respective dates given forbid this arrangement, but the same objection holds good of any other possible theory, and we have moreover already seen reason to believe that the Japanese chronology during the greater part of this century is by no means trustworthy. The accuracy of the Chinese chronology at this time has never been disputed, but it is possible that in the case of notices relating to a distant and little-known country errors may have crept in. On the other hand, it should be remembered that the matters noticed are chiefly Embassies of which an official record would naturally be kept. Internal evidence in favour of the accuracy of the Chinese account is not altogether wanting. In a Memorial presented to one of the Wei Emperors by King Mu in 478, he styled himself Supreme Director of Military matters in the seven countries of Wa, Pèkché, Silla, Mimana, Kara, Chinhan, and Bohan, General-in-chief for the pacification of the East, and King of Wa, in which titles he was confirmed by China. His four predecessors had requested Imperial sanction for somewhat similar titles. The truth of this statement is attested by the fact already noticed that Japan during this century exercised a powerful influence in the Korean peninsula, and it derives further confirmation from the use of the word Mimana, which, as far as we know, was an exclusively Japanese name for one of the minor Korean Kingdoms.

After A.D. 500, the Chinese and Korean histories pre-Conclusion. sent a blank for a considerable period in respect to events connected with Japan, and new considerations come into view. This is therefore a convenient date at which to bring to a close this review of the Early History of Japan. It is far from being exhaustive, and many known contradictions and absurdities in the Kojiki and Nihongi have been left unnoticed. Indeed it approaches the subject almost exclusively from the side of the evidences of inaccuracy from external sources, to the neglect of much internal evidence to the same

effect which might have been adduced. A vast mass of narrative is not directly touched by it. But when we find that the Japanese traditional history during the period in question almost invariably fails to stand the tests which we are in a position to apply, it is impossible not to feel that in all cases where no confirmatory evidence is forthcoming, a wholesome scepticism is our most reasonable attitude. Without some corroboration, all that we can say of any particular statement is that it may very likely rest on a basis of fact, but that the details are probably incorrect, and that the chronology is almost to a certainty wildly inaccurate.

I am sorry that this paper contains so much criticism of a destructive tendency. It is not pleasant to find that what we have been accustomed to look upon as a rich store of information is so deeply tainted by error and fable, and I, for one, should be glad to find that I have been mistaken in estimating at so low a rate the historical value of the Early Japanese Annals.

Let me recapitulate, in conclusion, some of the principal Summary. inferences suggested by the above facts.

1. The earliest date of the accepted Japanese Chronology, the accuracy of which is confirmed by external evidence, is A.D. 461.

2. Japanese History, properly so called, can hardly be said to exist previous to A.D. 500.⁶¹

3. Korean History and Chronology are more trustworthy than those of Japan during the period previous to that date.

4. While there was an Empress of Japan in the third century A.D. the statement that she conquered Corea is highly improbable.

5. Chinese learning was introduced into Japan from Corea 120 years later than the date given in Japanese History.

6. The main fact of Japan having a predominant influence in some parts of Corea during the 5th century is confirmed by the Korean and Chinese Chronicles, which, however, show that the Japanese accounts are very inaccurate in matters of detail.

⁶¹ A cursory examination leads me to think that the annals of the sixth century must also be received with caution.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since the above paper was read before the Society my attention has been drawn to an outspoken article by Mr. Tachibana Riôhei on the "Japanese Epoch" in Nos. 1 and 2 of a new magazine called the *Hakubun Zasshi*. The writer points out the extreme inaccuracy of the chronology of the Nihongi before the time of Richiu Tennō. The following are some of the instances adduced by him.

Suinin Tennō is stated to have died (A.D. 70) at the age of 140. But he and five other children were born to Sūjin Tennō before the accession of the latter (B. C. 97), which would make him at least 180 (?) when he died.

Keikō Tennō was born in the fifty-fourth year of Suinin Tennō's reign. But he had already (at the age of twenty-one) been made Heir Apparent in the 37th year of the same reign, i. e. seventeen years before he was born.

Wabime no mikoto was daughter of Suinin Tennō and younger sister by the same mother of Keikō Tennō. But we are told that Wabime no mikoto worshipped Tenshō daijin in Ise in the 25th year of her father's reign, i.e. twenty-nine years before her elder brother was born.

Prince Oho-usu no mikoto was a twin brother of Yamatodake no mikoto. But the latter was sixteen when he went on his expedition against the Kumasos in the 27th year of Keikō Tennō's reign, so that both brothers were born in the 12th year of Keikō Tennō. Yet in the 4th year of this reign, i.e. eight years before he was born, it is related that Oho-usu no mikoto seduced the daughter of Mino tsukuri kawo.

Yamatodake no Mikoto died in the 43rd year of Keikō Tennō's reign. But his son Chiui Tennō was born in the 19th year of Seimu Tennō's reign, or 37 years after his father's death.⁶²

Mr. Tachibana also points out the immoderate lengths given to the ages of the Emperors and of Takechi no Sukune (over three hundred years), and the suspicious ages at which some of them are said to have

⁶²This discrepancy has also been pointed out by Mr. Satow.

had children. Thus Jimmu Tennō had a child at eighty, Itoku Tennō at twelve or thirteen, Kōshō Tennō at eighty, Sūjin Tennō at over ninety, and Suinin Tennō at nearly one hundred. Keikō Tennō was born when his mother was over sixty, and his younger brother when she was nearly seventy. Jimmu Tennō's eldest son is said to have seduced his father's widow when he must have been at least ninety and she over one hundred.

I learn with pleasure from Mr. Tachibana's article that in pointing out the discrepancy of exactly two cycles of sixty years each in the Japanese and Korean chronology of certain events, I was following in the footsteps of Motowori Norinaga, who had already made the same discovery. Mr. Tachibana thinks that the same principle should be extended so as to embrace the whole period from Jimmu Tennō to Nintoku Tennō inclusive, and would make out that ten cycles of sixty years each have been interpolated during this time. I hardly think his arguments go further than to prove that large reductions must be made in the lengths of the lives of sovereigns and others in order to bring them within the range of probability, but they will repay perusal by those interested in this subject, and they manifest a healthy scepticism which it is refreshing to meet with in a Japanese writer.

THE JAPANESE EDUCATION SOCIETY.

 BY WALTER DENING.

 [Read January 18, 1888.]

One of the most interesting features of Japanese modern life is the formation and development of a large number of learned societies. The history of such societies as a whole offers a striking contrast to the history of political parties. The arena of politics can hardly be said to be opened to the public here, as it is in countries where representative government, in any one of its many forms, has been established for some time. It was too much to expect, that political parties formed seven or eight years before the inauguration of a representative assembly could hold together very long. The *Hoshu-tō*, or Conservative party, the *Jiyū-tō*, or Liberal party, and the *Kaishin-tō*, or Liberal-Conservative party, for a while discussed vigorously, within the limits prescribed by the Government, important political questions. But eventually speakers and hearers alike grew weary of work that failed to produce any practical results. Accordingly these parties have either broken up or have continued to exist only in name. Apparently the near approach of the time for the inauguration of a representative assembly is just now creating a *raison d'être* for political parties, but as regards the past, they may be said to have practically proved failures. To this the history of scientific, philosophical, and educational societies affords a pleasing contrast. The object of the formation of such societies being the investigation and discussion of certain definite subjects, all of which more or less directly bear on the welfare of mankind, and some of which are entirely new in this country, they occupy an important position as diffusers of knowledge, instruments of reform, heralds of the age of enlightenment and freedom that is in process of inauguration. Their

public meetings afford excellent opportunities for studious and thoughtful men to give the results of their investigations to the world, whilst at the same time they do no small good in helping to train a nation unaccustomed to public speaking in the art of expressing thought in a clear and graceful manner. When in the distant future a history of the adoption of Western Civilization by the Japanese comes to be written, it will be perceived how great a work these learned societies have accomplished.

The Japanese Education Society, from small beginnings, has gradually won its way to fame, until it now numbers nearly 5,000 members. Among these are enrolled the names of some of Japan's most enlightened men.

The monthly meetings of the Society are held on the second Sunday of each month in the large Lecture Hall of the Imperial University, situated near Hitotsu Bashi, Tōkyō, on which occasions lectures on education are delivered. The annual meetings of the Society are held on two successive days in March or April. Last year, as it will be remembered, the meeting was attended by the principal residents of Tōkyō, both native and foreign, and was addressed by a number of influential men.

We now proceed to give an account of the formation, constitution, and work of the Society, to be followed by a résumé of one of its papers. The Society has from its commencement published a detailed account of its proceedings in a monthly Journal. The first number, published in October, 1883, contains the outline of an address by Mr. Iochi Tamotsu, entitled "The Education Society in its Third Stage," which furnishes us with various facts bearing on the formation of the Society, and which, therefore, with a few omissions, we append.

"Those who mount to great heights commence from low depths: those who go a long distance begin from something very near. This has been the case with our Japanese Education Society. When we come to inquire how it commenced, we find that it originated in the following way:—In December, 1878, a few of the teachers of the Tōkyō Government Elementary Schools, who were interested in the matter, after consultation, decided on calling a meeting to consider the advisability of forming an Education Society. This meeting was held in the Tokiwa Government School room, and resulted in the formation

of a society known as the Tōkyō Education Society. Then, in August, 1880, some members of the *Gakushūin* (the Nobles' School) held a meeting in Nishiki-chō, and founded the Tōkyō Educational Association (東京教育協會). This is the first stage of the Society's history.

"After a while it was felt that the influence of these two societies, thus divided, was very limited, and that as long as they continued to work separately they would never effect much good. This led to some earnest members of the two Associations taking steps to bring about their union, which was effected in May, 1882. The cause thus entered on a new stage of existence, being henceforth known as the *Tōkyō-kyōiku-gakukwai*, or the Tōkyō Educational Science Society. This is the second stage of the Society's history.

"The members of the Society, however, were not content with this amount of progress, and were desirous of enlarging the sphere of the Society's operations still further, so as to make them capable of conferring benefit on the whole country. This led to the revision of the rules this year [1883], and to the Society's assuming the name of the *Dai-Nihon-Kyōikukwai*, or the Japanese Education Society. This is the third stage of the Society's history. We do not intend to rest here, but hope to make still further progress in various ways.

"The above is no more than a brief outline of the Society's past history; but it is sufficient to show the various steps by which it has reached its present position, and to serve as a proof that its constant aim has been progress; that it is not content unless its sphere of influence is constantly growing wider and wider; that from what is low it is rising to what is high; from what is near it is reaching out to what is distant.

"Subjoined is a table¹ showing a steady increase in the number of members belonging to the various Education Societies mentioned above.

"By this table we see that, in accordance with the desire of the early members of the Tōkyō Education Society for extension, their number has gradually increased, so that now those who espouse our cause amount to over 600 persons. This should fill our hearts with gladness, whilst it should be an incentive to us to do our utmost to extend the field of our operations till there is not a place in Japan in

¹ Given on next page.

NAMES OF SOCIETIES.	DATES AND NUMBER OF MEMBERS.				
	Members in Sept., 1879.	Members in Sept., 1880.	Members in Sept., 1881.	Members in Sept., 1882.	Members in Sept., 1883.
<i>Tōkyō-Kyōikukai</i> (東京教育會)	50	72	62	....	....
<i>Tōkyō-Kyōiku-Kyōkai</i> (東京教育協會)	....	25	60	....	....
<i>Tōkyō-Kyōiku-gakukai</i> (東京教育學會)	....	....	....	203	....
<i>Dai-Nihon-Kyōikukai</i> (大日本教育會)	....	....	....	....	630

which the Society is not represented. Looking, then, at our past history and remembering how from very small beginnings we have reached our present position, we cannot doubt that the spirit of activity which has been so manifest among us, will still keep us from retrograding: yet, with a view of making this doubly sure, it is most desirable that we should regard a continual state of progress as the one object which the Society sets before itself.

“ With a large number of men coming together, that great difference of opinion should be expressed and that this should lead to warmth of friendly feeling between certain members, and to coolness between certain others, is unavoidable. Men's minds are no more alike than their faces. But notwithstanding this, the majority of you will agree with me when I say that a course of continual progress must be advantageous to us all, whilst all retrograde movement and mere conservatism must be profitless. This being clear, the more earnest among our members will be united in their efforts to push forward. Yet in the discussion of the means to be resorted to to effect progress, it is desirable that there should be room for difference of opinion, and that, within the

limits of those rules of the Society which have progress and activity of spirit as their main object, debates on various subjects should be free and unfettered, and that members should be allowed to lecture on whatever topics they please.

"People who live in the country, and who consequently are prevented from attending the Society's meetings, should correspond with it on important matters connected with education. Bearing in mind that the object of our meetings is the devising of means for the improvement of our educational system, members should express themselves without the slightest reserve. They must say things they are half ashamed to say, and ask questions that they are half ashamed to ask. For as long as there is any reserve in speech, there is no possibility of our meetings proving of benefit to us who attend them, or of their becoming the means of conferring benefit on others. It is very important that by means of our Journal and by correspondence, a regular system of investigation should be instituted, and a spirit of activity stirred up, and that whatever is calculated to further the interests of the Society, or prove of service to the world, should be brought up for discussion. If this be done, then the third stage of this Society's existence will prove one which hands down to posterity an illustrious name, and one which will make it easier for the Society to enter on a still more advanced stage of progress in the future."

The first meeting of the newly organised Society was held on Sept. 9th, 1883, in the *Gakushūin*. There were 63 members present on this occasion. The chair was taken by Mr. Nakagawa Gen, who proceeded to put it to the meeting whether the rules which had been drawn up and copies of which had been placed in the hands of the members, should be passed. He stated that it would be necessary to elect some office-bearers to act temporarily, till the general meeting of the Society took place in the following March. The rules were passed, and the meeting proceeded to record their votes for the office-bearers. The names of those elected were as follows:—To be Director of the Society, Mr. Tsuji Shinji (then Chief Secretary of the Mombushō); to be Sub-Director, Mr. Nakagawa Gen; to be members of Committee, Messrs. Sano Yasushi, Nishimura Tei, Ōtsuka Shigeyoshi, Nagakura Yūbei and Tandokoro Hiroyuki. In accordance with one of the rules of the Society,

the Director has the power to choose five members of committee, which Mr. Tsuji proceeded to do: those chosen being Messrs. Iochi Tamotsu, Ikoma Yasuto, Kusakabe Sannosuke, Takei Tamotsu and Namikawa Hisa-aki.

The rules were, as we have seen, drawn up previous to the meeting to which we have just referred and passed at that meeting. They were slightly revised in August, 1884. We give a translation of them as they stood after this revision:

“INTRODUCTION TO THE RULES OF THE JAPANESE EDUCATION SOCIETY.

“What man is there that does not seek health and happiness for himself? What subject is there that does not desire peace and prosperity for his country? And no sooner do we desire these things than it becomes our duty to endeavour to make ourselves thoroughly acquainted with the hidden sources from which they flow. What are the hidden sources to which we refer? No other than educational sources. Since the revolution and the inauguration of the new regime, education, like other things, has made great progress. Day by day, and month by month, improvement has been added to improvement. Yet when we look into things narrowly, we find there is still much left to be done. In some cases, we find that though the intellect is cultivated, people have no regard for morality, and no idea what it is. On the other hand, we see persons who, though very moral, pay no attention to the subject of bodily health. Others there are who are addicted to all kinds of useless display in what they do, others who have no definite object in life; others who sink to the lowest depths of ignominy and pollution; and so we might go on without end. Do not all these things show that the education of the country is still limited in extent and inferior in quality? Moreover, though the Government for a long time has been most anxious to improve the state of education—to make it more efficient and bring it within the reach of a larger number of people, yet this duty is by no means one for whose discharge the Government alone is to be held responsible. Each individual is under an obligation to lend his or her aid to the cause of educational reform. It being a part of the nature of every man to seek for health and happiness for himself and peace and prosperity for his country, the devising

of means for the obtaining of these benefits becomes one of the paramount duties of every man.

"It is now just a year since the formation of the *Tōkyō-Kyōikukwai*. Though our sphere has been limited we have exerted ourselves to the utmost. We now purpose extending the field of our operations by soliciting the aid of all those throughout the country who are desirous of promoting the end we have in view, and so hope to make our cause known in every part of the land. In taking this course we trust that we shall be giving assistance to those who control the education of the country, as well as acting as leaders to all those persons throughout Japan who feel the need of progress in this matter. With this in view, we have revised the rules of the Society, and have altered its name to the *Dai-Nihon Kyōikukwai*. It is our earnest desire that those who approve of the effort we are making will come forward and give us their assistance, and thus show that they fully understand what are the hidden sources of that personal happiness and national prosperity which they desire to see attained.

"THE RULES OF THE JAPANESE EDUCATION SOCIETY.

I.—The object of this Society is the uniting together in an association all persons who are actuated by similar desires in the matter of education, the devising of plans for the improvement of our education, so as to make it comprehensive and progressive, and thus the assisting of those to whom its control has been entrusted.²

II.—Starting with the above-named objects in view, in order to attain them we deem, the progress of morality, the diffusion of knowledge, the strengthening of body and mind to the extent of developing all the powers of both into perfection, to be considered the chief things aimed at.

III.—The Society shall be called the *Dai-Nihon Kyōikukwai*.

IV.—For the present, the office of the Society shall be at No. 7, Iida machi, 1 chōme, Kōjimachiku, Tōkyō. This place has been decided on as the most conveniently situated for all purposes.

V.—Any person who approves of the object of the Society may become a member of the same.

VI.—Any one who wishes to become a member must acquaint the Society with his desire, and must fill in a paper that will be sent to him,

²The officers of the Mombushō.

giving his name, age, place of residence, occupation, and the name of the place at which he is registered. This paper must bear the seal or signature of the applicant.

VII.—Those who have complied with the above conditions will receive a certificate of membership.

VIII.—Members are allowed to attend the annual, monthly, and special meetings of the Society, to state their views to it in writing, or to put any questions to it that they please. But it shall be left to the Director to decide whether the views of any member shall be made a subject of discussion at a public meeting or not.

IX.—It is the duty of members to give attention to all subjects connected with education, and to inform the Society of anything that appears to them to call for their consideration.

X.—Members are allowed to take their families and two friends to the meetings of the Society. But at times want of room may make it necessary to refuse admittance to any but members.

XI.—Persons desirous of ceasing to be members must notify the same to the Society, and return their certificates of membership.

XII.—If it happens that a member does not observe the rules of the Society, or does anything calculated to bring discredit on it, or is negligent in the duties devolving upon him, the Director has the power to expel him from the Society.

XIII.—Any one of note, engaged in general educational work, or in teaching science ; in fact, any person of reputation, whether foreign or native, provided it be considered that his belonging to the Society would be of benefit to it, shall be elected an honorary member of the same.

XIV.—Honorary members are not required to do more than approve of and assist in the carrying out of the objects of the Society.

XV.—The officers of the Society are as follows :—1 President, 1 Director, 1 Sub-Director, 10 members of Committee, Clerks (number not fixed). The President shall be a member of the Imperial Family. All other office-bearers shall be chosen from among the members.

XVI.—The President shall have supreme control of the affairs of the Society and be regarded as its head.

XVII.—The Director shall exercise control in all ordinary matters, but whenever anything extraordinary occurs, the decision of the President

shall be taken, and he shall be constituted the chairman of the meeting that assembles to consider such matter.

XXVIII.—The Sub-Director shall assist the Director, and when from any cause the latter is obliged to be absent, he shall act as his deputy.

XIX.—The Committee will transact the various business of the Society, will give attention to the accounts, and to the compilation of its publications. The Director will decide in what way the work is to be divided among them.

XX.—Secretaries will carry out the orders of the Director, and, in subordination to the Committee, transact the business of the Society.

XXI.—The President shall be looked on as the representative of the Director, as well as of all the members of the Society, in any special business that has to be transacted.

XXII.—The Director and Sub-Director of the Society shall be chosen by the members by vote. The term for which they shall serve shall be two years. The members are at liberty, however, to re-elect the former office-bearers whenever they wish to do so.

XXIII.—Five of the members of Committee shall be chosen by vote by the members of the Society, and five by the Director. The time for which those elected shall serve shall be two years.

XXIV.—The Secretaries shall be chosen by the Director.

XXV.—The officers of the Society will not be paid, unless in the opinion of the Director on special occasions some remuneration seems to be called for.

XXVI.—The Society, in addition to those mentioned above, shall appoint an officer, whose duty it shall be to make researches in two departments, viz., in that of science and art, and in that of educational methods and government and rules bearing thereon.

XXVII.—This officer shall be chosen by the Director and the members, and shall be called the Investigator. It shall be left to the Director to decide when his services call for pecuniary remuneration.

XXVIII.—The Annual meeting of the Society shall be held on some day in March, notice of which will be given beforehand. Should it be deemed advisable, however, the time for holding the meeting may be altered at any time. The business of the meeting on this occasion shall be as follows :—(1) Report of the progress of the Society throughout

the year. (2) Financial statement. (3) Report of the general state of education during the year. (4) The voting of officers for the ensuing year (this will only take place every other year). (5) Discussion of the subject for the day. (6) A lecture to be given by one of the members. (7) Conversation on subjects connected with education.

XXXIX.—The ordinary meetings of the Society will be held on the second Sunday of every month, commencing at 1 p.m. The time of holding such meetings may be changed to suit the convenience of members. The business to be transacted on these occasions shall be as follows : — (1) The discussion of the subject of the day. (2) A lecture by a member of the Society. (3) Conversation on subjects connected with education.

XXX.—Those among the members who are desirous of lecturing shall state in writing what subject they intend to treat, and shall receive the permission of the Director before lecturing.

XXXI.—Besides the ordinary monthly and annual meetings, should there be any urgent matter that demands consideration, upon the Director and not less than 10 members giving their consent, a special meeting shall be called.

XXXII.—All other business of the Society will be settled in accordance with another set of rules to be drawn up for the purpose.

XXXIII.—The share of the expenses of the Society to be defrayed by each member is fixed at 20 *sen* per month. Each member must pay his subscription six months in advance, the time fixed for such payment being January and July of every year.

XXXIV.—Any person who, with a desire to enable the Society to meet its expenses, subscribes 20 *yen* or upwards at one time, shall be considered a Life-member, and not be required to pay the ordinary monthly subscription any longer.

XXXV.—When books are presented, or money given by any one, the Director shall send a letter of thanks to such person. Notice of the same shall be inserted in the Society's Journal and other papers. The amount of money, or the number of books presented, with the name of the donor, shall appear in the Society's accounts.

XXXVI.—The money of the Society shall be deposited in a trustworthy bank, and shall be put in and taken out at the discretion of the officers of the Society.

XXXVII.—The accounts of the Society, showing what are its expenditure and income, shall be made up annually and a report of the same read to the Society at its annual meeting.

XXXVIII.—The Society shall publish a monthly Journal, which will discuss subjects connected with education, and contain notices of various matters of interest. The Journal will be supplied gratis to members.

XXXIX.—The foregoing rules may be altered at the instance of more than 10 members, after such alteration has been discussed and agreed to by a general meeting of the Society."

The Society's Journal is in many respects a most valuable publication. It differs somewhat in size from month to month according to the amount of matter available for publication; but it usually contains more than a hundred pages of closely printed Sinico-Japanese. All the lectures given before the Society, as well as translations of important papers and lectures bearing on education that have been read or delivered in Europe and America are published in it. Besides these, all government regulations bearing on education and a minute account of the state of education in every civilised country and in every province of the Japanese empire are given.

In order to show in how many respects the Society has improved in the course of four years, we append a translation of the Rules as revised in November last.

RULES OF THE EDUCATION SOCIETY.

I.—The object of this Society is the consideration of measures for the spread, the improvement and the progress of education.

II.—This Society shall be called the Japanese Education Society, and Tōkyō shall be deemed its headquarters.

III.—Any person whatever sympathising with the objects of the Society may become a member of the same.

IV.—Persons of note and rank, whether scholars or engaged in education, provided their election is likely to prove of benefit to the Society, shall be created honorary members of the same.

V.—The Society shall have patrons, from among whom a President shall be chosen, who shall be requested to exercise control over all the business of the Society.

VI.—Princes shall be solicited to become patrons of the Society, and on their consent shall be so considered.

VII.—The Society shall establish branch societies in the Hokkaido and in the various cities and prefectures of the country ; which societies shall be named the “—— Branch of the Japanese Education Society.”

There shall be no branch society in Tōkyō.

VIII.—The officers of the Society shall be as follows :^a—1 Director, 5 Privy-Councillors, 200 Councillors, 2 Agents, 6 Clerks.

IX.—The Director shall have control of all the Society's affairs.

When there is a Council Meeting he shall be its chairman.

X.—Privy-Councillors shall be entrusted with all matters of great moment.

XI.—Councillors shall be entrusted with the settling of all questions connected with the business of the Society.

XII.—Agents shall have control of all matters connected with the practical work of the Society.

XIII.—Clerks shall be engaged in the various business of the Society.

XIV.—The Director shall be chosen at an Annual Meeting by ballot.

XV.—The term for which a Director shall serve shall be four years. The re-election of a Director is allowed.

XVI.—Privy-Councillors shall be appointed from among ordinary Councillors by the Director.

XVII.—Councillors shall be chosen by vote at an Annual Meeting.

In case of a vacancy among the Councillors having to be filled up, it is advisable that the name of the person proposed shall be advertised previous to his election.

XVIII.—The time of service for Councillors shall be four years. Every two years half the number required shall be chosen.

Re-election is allowed.

XIX.—Agents and Clerks shall be chosen by the Director.

XX.—The Director, Privy-Councillors, and Councillors shall receive no salary. The salaries of Agents and Clerks shall be fixed by the Director.

^a The President is not included among the officers of the Society.

XXI.—If for the discharge of the business of the Society the Director deems it necessary to appoint special committees and hire assistants, he shall be at liberty to do so.

XXII.—Hired assistants shall be paid so much *per* day. The remuneration of members of committees shall be left to the discretion of the Director.

XXIII.—The Society shall call a Council Meeting for any one of the following objects :—

- 1.—The revision of the Rules.
- 2.—The passing decision on any weighty matter connected with the work of the Society.
- 3.—The discussion or investigation of any question connected with education.
- 4.—On the motion of more than ten members in favour of holding such meeting.

XXIV.—When the votes of the members of Council for and against a motion are equal, the decision shall lie with the Director.

XXV.—The Society shall hold an Ordinary Meeting once a month,⁴ at which the following business shall be transacted :—

- 1.—An address, a lecture, a conversation, and a debate on the subject of education.
- 2.—Council and special reports.

XXVI.—A General Meeting of the Society shall be held once a year, at which the following business shall be transacted :—

- 1.—Reports on the state of the Society and its branch associations, its business, accounts, and publications.
- 2.—Addresses, lectures, conversations, debates and questions on education.
- 3.—Council and Special reports.

XXVII.—Branch Societies may be formed with the permission of the Director in whatever place there happen to be residing more than a hundred members of the Main Society.

Under special circumstances, in some parts of the country, the permission to form a Branch Society will be granted even though the number of resident members falls short of one hundred.

⁴ The month of August is excepted.

XXVIII.—Branch Societies shall appoint the following officers :—
A Director, Councillors, Agents, Clerks.⁵

* * * * *

XXXV.—The expenses of the Branch Societies shall be met by the members of these Societies.

XXXVI.—Branch Societies shall send to the Main Society a yearly report of the progress they have made.

Special reports shall not be included in this.

XXXVII.—The Rules of Branch Societies must be sanctioned by the Director.

XXXVIII.—At each Annual Meeting of the Main Society one representative of each Branch Society shall be present, who shall be placed on an equal footing with the Councillors of the Main Society, taking part in discussions and answering questions on educational matters.

The travelling expenses of these representatives shall be met by the Main Society.

XXXIX.—Members are at liberty to bring their relations and friends to hear the lectures and addresses delivered at the Monthly and Annual Meetings of the Society.

There may be times, however, when, owing to want of room, the admittance of such will have to be refused.

XL.—The Society shall publish a Monthly Journal for distribution among its members.

Matters having reference to Branch Societies will be recorded in this Journal.

XLI.—Besides the regular Meetings of the Society, addresses and lectures on education will be given from time to time.

XLII.—The Society shall, in response to the invitation of other Education Societies, send representatives to their meetings.

XLIII.—The Society shall open a Library, if such a step be deemed advisable.

XLIV.—The Society shall print such books as are required for educational purposes.

⁵ The rules which follow being precisely similar to Nos. XIV.-XIX in the earlier set of rules, we have omitted them.

XLV.—The Society shall render assistance to the young friends and relations of their members who may be sent to Tōkyō for education.

XLVI.—The Society shall respond to applications for teachers and teaching.

XLVII.—The current expenses of the Society shall be met by the subscriptions of its members and by donations received.

XLVIII.—The monthly subscription to the Society for members residing in Tōkyō shall be thirty *sen*, and for those residing in the country twenty-five.

On the presentation to the Society of thirty *yen* by a resident of Tōkyō, or twenty-five *yen* by any one residing in the country, the donor shall be exempted from paying monthly subscriptions and shall be declared a Life-member of the Society.

XLIX.—Persons entering the Society for the first time shall pay an entrance fee of one *yen*.

L.—In order to enable the Society to carry on its labours for a lengthened period, a reserve fund shall be gradually formed.

The interest derived from this fund shall occasionally be made use of to meet the current expenses of the Society.

LI.—The Reserve fund shall be supplied from the monthly subscriptions of members, from the entrance fees, donations, and the like.

LII.—Whenever either money or any article is presented to the Society, the name of the donor shall be recorded in the Society's books and thus handed down to posterity. The number and donors of such gifts shall from time to time be stated in the Society's Journal.

LIII.—Any person who presents to the Society over thirty *yen* shall be regarded as a virtual member of the Society, and a copy of the Journal shall be forwarded to him month by month.

This rule will be followed when, instead of money, some valuable article has been presented to the Society.

LIV.—The Director is at liberty to frame minor regulations in order to facilitate the observance of the above rules.

LV.—If among the members there is any one who does not observe these rules or who acts in a way calculated to bring discredit on the Society, at the discretion of the Director, such a person may be expelled from the Society.

LVI.—These rules may not be revised unless at the suggestion of over twenty members, and subsequent to the consent of the council to the measure.

November 12th, 1887."

We subjoin a list of the titles of the more important papers and lectures published in the Society's journal.⁶ The first number of the present series was published in November, 1883,⁷ its title being the *Dai-Nihon Kyōiku-Kwai Zasshi* 大日本教育會雜誌

LIST OF THE MORE IMPORTANT SUBJECTS DISCUSSED IN THE JAPANESE
EDUCATION SOCIETY'S JOURNAL.

No.

1. 大日本教育會第一回開會ノ祝詞
"Congratulatory Address on the Occasion of the First Meeting of the *Dai-Nihon-Kyōiku-Kwai*." By Tsuji Shinji.
知識ノ發達ヲ論ズ.
"The Development of the Understanding." By Takei Tamotsu.
1. 教員改良ノ一二方案
"Two or Three Methods of Reforming our Teachers." By Nishimura Tei.
1. 今日我輩カ所謂教育トハ何ソヤ
"What is it that at Present goes by the Name of Education among us." By Izawa Shūji. (Continued in Nos. 2 and 4.)
2. 物理學授業法
"The Mode of Teaching Physics." By Muraoka Han-ichi. (Continued in No. 3.)
3. 簡單ナル器械ヲ用テ物理學ヲ教フルコト
"The Teaching of Physics by means of some Simple Instruments." By Gotō Makita.

⁶ We have omitted from this list papers whose subject matter has no direct bearing on education, or whose titles are obscure, also translations from foreign books.

⁷ The Journal quoted from above (*vide p. 77*), published in October, 1883, bore a slightly different name to the present one, being called the *Dai-Nihon-Kyōiku-kwaishi*.

4. 中小學校理學教授ノ説
 "The Teaching of Science in Elementary Schools." By Takamine Hideo.
5. 普通教育ノ施設
 "The Imparting of General Instruction." By Kubota Yuzuru.
5. 廢人教育説
 "The Instruction of the Deformed, so as to make up for Organic deficiencies." By Teshima Sei-ichi. (Continued in No. 6.)
6. 化學授業法
 "Modes of Teaching Chemistry." By Sakurai Jōji.
6. 文學ノ授業法
 "Modes of Giving Instruction in Literature." By Naka Michiyo. (Continued in No. 7.)
7. 算術教授上ノ心得
 "Things to be borne in mind in teaching Mathematics." By Sakurai Hōki. (Continued in No. 8.)
8. 教育ノ需用
 "The Essentials of Education." By Kuki Takakazu.
9. 動物分類ノ方法
 "The Methods of Classifying Living Beings." By Mitsukuri Kachi. (Continued in No. 10.)
10. 生年ヨリ學齡ニ至ル兒童死亡統計論附其原因及ニ教育統計一班
 "An Estimate of the Number of Children that die in different countries before they are old enough to go to school, together with a discussion of the cause of the above and of the number of persons who are available for education in various countries." By Terata Yūkichi. (Continued in No. 11.)
11. 大日本教育會起サズンバアルベカラザル理由
 "Why the Founding of the Japanese Education Society was an Absolute Necessity." By Toyama Masakazu.
12. 小學科中ニ農工商業ノ大意ヲ加フルノ要ヲ論ズ
 "The Importance of including general instruction in Agriculture, Commerce, and the Useful Arts among the Subjects to be taught in our Elementary schools." By Tsuchiya Masatomo. (Continued in No. 13.)

12. 理學ノ説
“Some remarks on Science.” By Kikuchi Dairoku.
13. 東京府下小學改良ヲ謀ルノ難事ナルヲ論ズ
“The Difficulties of Devising Measures for the Improvement of the Elementary Schools of the Tōkyō Fu.” By Kitera Yasuatsu.
13. 小學教科ノ撰擇
“The Choice of Subjects to be taught in Elementary Schools.” By Yamada Yukimoto.
13. 教育ト衛生トノ關係
“The Connection of Education and Health.” By Miyake Shū.
13. 胎教説
“Hereditary Education.” By Nishi Shū.
14. 人ノ一生ハ幼時ノ教育ニアルヲ論ズ
“The Life of Man depends on the Education he receives in Youth.” By Nakamura Masanao.
14. 普通教育普及改良ノ一方案
“Methods of Improving the Mode of imparting General Instruction, so as to make it capable of reaching every part of the Country.” By Motoshima Matsuzō. (Continued in No. 15.)
15. 小學校讀書科用書ニ就テ感ズル所ヲ述ブ
“The Impression created by an Examination of the Lesson Books of Elementary Schools.” By Yoshimura Toratarō
16. 道德學ヲ簡單ニ教授スルノ方法
“An Easy Method of Imparting Instruction on Ethics.” By J. B. Arrivet. (Continued in No. 17.)
16. かなのけういく
“Education by Means of the *Kana*.” By Katayama Atsuyoshi. (Continued in No. 17.)
17. 少年子弟ノ遊戲ヲ論シ併セテ其健康及ビ品行上ノ關係ニ及ブ
“The Connection between the Amusements of Children and their Health and Conduct.” By — Techow. (Continued in No. 18.)
18. 下等教育普及捷徑法ノ意見ヲ陳述シ當路者ノ注意ヲ促シ併セテ世間有志者ニ問ハントス

- “An Easy way of making Elementary Education universal, of attracting the attention of officials of the Education Department and appealing to the minds of men in general.” By Takahashi Hideta.
19. 學校生徒ノ身體ヲ論ズ
 “The Physical Condition of the Scholars in our Schools.” By Nomura Tsuna.
19. 小學校ニ於テ珠算ヲ専用スルノ利益ヲ論ズ
 The Advantages to be derived from an Exclusive use of the Abacus for Arithmetical Calculation in Elementary Schools.” By Akihara Sutegorō.
20. 大日本農業教育論
 “Agricultural Education in Japan.” By Gotō Tatsuzō.
20. 徳義統計
 “Statistics on the State of Morals.” By Nakagawa Gen.
20. 二代目ノ我ハ今代ノ我ヨリ賢カラシムヲ祈ルベシ
 “We should Desire that the next Generation should be wiser than this.” By Kusakabe Sannosuke.
21. 家庭教育
 “Domestic Education.” By Koike Tamijirō.
21. 大坂商法會議所ニ於テ演説
 A Lecture Delivered in the Chamber of Commerce, Ōsaka. By Mori Arinori.
22. 法律經濟ノ二科ヲ小學科目中ニ入ルノ可否ヲ論ズ
 “The Advantages and Disadvantages of Including Law and Political Economy among the Subjects taught in Elementary Schools.” By W. G. Appert.
23. 博物圖畫教授ノ注意
 “Points to be Attended to in the use of Pictorial Representations of Natural Objects.” By Takashima Heizaburō.
23. 小學校教師ト人民トノ間ヲ親密ナラシムルハ目今ノ要務
 “The Great Importance at the Present Time of Cultivating Friendly Relations between the Teachers of Elementary Schools and the Inhabitants.” By Kotake Keijirō.

24. 小學校ヲ以テ愉快ナル集會場トスベシ
 "The Elementary School should be made a Happy Meeting Place
 for Children." By Kotake Keijirō.
24. 珠算教授ノ説
 "A View on the Teaching of Arithmetic by Means of the Abacus."
 By Kuroda Sadaharu.
25. 學校衛生論
 "School Hygiene." By Kidera Yasuatsu.
25. 學齡未滿ノ小兒ヲ育ツベキ談話
 "On the Education of Children who are too young to send to
 School." By Kojima Kametarō.
25. 國家ノ興廢ハ小學教育ニ在リ
 "The Fate of the State Depends on the Condition of Elementary
 Schools." By Yamaji Ichiyū.
26. 日本國語論
 "On the Japanese Language." By F. Schroeder.
27. 徴兵ト教育トノ關係
 "The Connection between Conscription and Education." By Mu-
 raoka Soichirō.
27. 兵式肄操ノ必要ニ感アリ
 "A Feeling that Military Drill is most Important" (to schools).
 By Ōmura Chōe.
27. 教育論者多キヨリ教育家ノ多キヲ望ム
 "A Desire to see more Educators than Theorizers on Education."
 By Abe Hidemasa.
28. 婦人ノ教育
 "The Education of Women." By F. W. Eastlake.
28. 近眼ノ説
 "On Near-sightedness." By Bai Kinnojō.
29. 珠算教授方附算術改良法
 "The Method of Teaching Arithmetic and Modes of Reforming the
 same." By Takano Ryū.
29. 農業地方ノ小學校へ實業科ヲ設ケ幼年ヨリ稼穡上ノ嗜好心
 ヲ養生スル方

- "A Method of Cultivating a Taste for Agriculture in young Children by giving Lessons in Practical Agriculture during school hours in Schools situated in Agricultural Districts." By Takahashi Hideta.
29. 我小學校習字法ノ改良ヲ論ズ
 "A Means of Reforming the Caligraphy of our Elementary Schools. By Noro Kuninosuke.
29. 教育ノ急要
 "Urgent Matters in Education." By Abe Hidemasa.
30. 文章ノ變遷
 "The Various Changes that Japanese Composition has undergone." By Ōmori Ichū.
31. 師範學校前途ノ目的
 "The Object to be Aimed at by Normal Schools." By Furukawa Ryōnosuke.
31. 教育ノ制度ト各國各人ノ品格トノ關係
 "The Relation of Systems of Education to National and Individual Character." By W. Dening.
31. 兒童教育法考附兒童學校用衣服案
 "Thoughts on Education (in general) and on the Mode of Dress to be Adopted in Schools." By Watanabe Hiromoto.
32. 教育者ノ名譽何ヲ以テ維持セン乎
 "How can an Educator maintain his reputation?" By Ōkubo Jitsu.
33. 食物ノ改良ニ感アリ
 "A Feeling that Diet should be Improved." By Imamura Yūrin.
34. 近視眼豫防
 "A Preventative of Near-sightedness." By Tajiri Inajirō.
35. 現今ノ開發教授
 "The Teaching by Means of Development prevailing at the present Time." By Ikoma Yasuto.
35. 常用文字ノ書跡ヲ一定スルノ必要ヲ論ズ
 "The Importance of Fixing on one Mode of Writing Characters in General Use." By Iio Sōtarō.

36. 實業教育論
 "Education on Practical Subjects." By Teshima Sei-ichi. (Continued in No. 37.)
36. 盲啞ノ教育
 "The Education of the Blind and the Dumb." By Ōkubo Jitsu.
37. 貧生ニ學資ヲ給スル目的ヲ以テ資金ヲ募集スル論
 "The Founding of Scholarships." By Kaneko Kentarō.
38. 學齡以下ノ兒童ヲ保育スル方法
 "A Means of Instructing Children who are not old enough to go to School." By Kotake Keijirō.
39. 恐ルベキ事ト恐ルベカラザル事トノ差別ヲ教育家ニ望ム
 "It is expected of Educators that they should distinguish between things to be Feared and things not to be Feared." By Mitsukuri Rinshō.
39. 日本文典論
 "Japanese Grammar." By Abo Tomoichirō.
40. 嗚呼何ゾ獨立ノ精神ナキヤ
 "Ah! How is it that there is no Spirit of Independence?" By Watanabe Yoshishige.
40. 日本數學廢滅スベカラス并日本數學略史
 "The Advisability of not abolishing Japanese Arithmetic, together with a History of the Science." By Endō Toshisada. (Continued in No. 41.)
41. 教員ヲシテ九鼎ヨリ重カラシムル論
 "Teachers should be Esteemed more than any treasure the Country possesses." By Asagi Naokichi.
42. 教育管見
 "My Views on Education." By Mori Yoshitsugu.
43. 兒童ニ錢ヲ持タスル利害
 "The Advantages and Disadvantages of Supplying Pupils with Money." By Maejima Mitsu and Tanaka Iin.
44. 小學校試験論
 "Examinations in Elementary Schools." By Osada Katsukichi.
44. 貧生ニ學資ヲ給スル目的ヲ以テ資金ヲ募集スル論ノ論評
 "A Discussion of Mr. Kaneko's Views on the Founding of Scholarships." By Tanaka Iin.

44. 教授用大算盤改良案
The Improvement of the large Abacus used in Schools." By
Kawasaki Hizō.
44. 普通ノ文章ヲ一定シ文法書ヲ編纂スベキ論
"The Deciding on one Mode of Writing to be Employed in every
kind of Composition, and the Preparation of a Grammar on the
same." By Abo Tomoichirō.
45. 常用文章ノ書牒ヲ一定スルノ論
"The Fixing on one Mode of Writing Characters in General use."
By Tanaka Iin.
45. 作文用書ヲ定ムルノ得失
"The Advantages and Disadvantages of Fixing on Certain Books as
Models of Composition." By Chiba Jitsu.
45. 小學教員ニ勳章及年金ヲ付與スルノ意見
"A View on the Bestowal of Honours and Annual Rewards on
School Teachers." By Watanabe Yoshishige.
45. 小學校ノ維持法
"A Means of Maintaining Elementary Schools." By Yamada
Kunihiko.
46. 目下教育上衛生上ノ注意ヲ望ム
"The Need of Attention to Hygiene from an Educational point of
View." By Nagai Kyūichirō.
46. 清潔論
"Cleanliness." By Watanabe Yoshishige.
46. 社會進化ニ關スル一大勢力トハ何ゾ
"What is the Chief thing that influences the Progress of Society?"
By Suwa Setsu.
46. 普通教育ハ宜シク女子ニ任スヘキ事
"The Imparting of Instruction on General Subjects^s should be
entrusted to Women." By Kaitani Nawohei.
47. 女子ノ教育
"Female Education." By Yatabe Ryōkichi.
47. 徳育ノ方法
"A Method of Cultivating Virtue." By Tanaka Tōsaku.

^s The reference is to teaching in elementary schools.

48. 教育隆盛ノ兆ヲトシ併セテ師範學校職員諸君ニ望ム
"In View of the Manifest Tokens of the Progress of Education, we must look to the Teachers in Normal Schools for the Performance of Certain Things." By Hayashi Sei.
48. 小説ノ改良
"The Improvement of Romance-writing." By Seki Naohiko.
48. 教育學原理
"The Principle of Educational Science." By Yamagata Teizaburō.
49. 試験ニ關スル考案
"Thoughts on Examinations." By Ōtsuka Shigeyoshi.
49. 男女共學論
"The Mixture of the Sexes in Schools." By Ikoma Yasuto.
49. 兒童ノ養育
"The Bringing up of Children." By Osada Katsukichi.
50. 不學ニ對スル戰闘
"The Contest with Ignorance." By A. Baillod.
51. 女子ヲ以テ小學教員ニ充ツルノ説
"The Employment of Women as Teachers in Elementary Schools." By Kimura Kyō.
52. 幼稚時期ノ要用ヲ論ス
"The Importance of the Early Years of Life." By Osada Katsukichi.
52. 小學教員ノ功勞ニ報スル方案
"A Method of Rewarding the Teachers of Elementary Schools." By Matsuzawa Tsuneshirō.
52. 小學校生徒ノ入學期限ヲ一定スベシ
"The Determining of a fixed time for the Entrance of Pupils into Elementary Schools." By Yamada Heitarō.
52. 日本中等教育略論
"A Short Discussion of the Education imparted in Middle-class Schools." By Nobuhara Kenzō.
52. 小學校教員ノ改良ヲ圖ル手段ノ一端
"One Method of Improving the Class of Teaching Obtained in Elementary Schools." By Konishi Fuchizō.

52. 日本習字ニ就テノ意見
“A View on Japanese Calligraphy.” By Sakamoto Ryū.
52. 實業教育ヲ論ス
“On Practical Education.” By Imazuni Gen-ichirō.
54. 日本國ハ何國ナルヤ
“What is the Position of Japan?” (as compared with other countries in the matter of education.) By Irokawa Kokushi.
54. 本邦沿海ノ大勢ヲ知ラシムルノ教科ヲ小學校ニ設クル必要ヲ論ジ併セテ該書編輯ノ意見ヲ述ブ
“The Importance of Making a Knowledge of the General Outline of the Coast of Japan one of the Subjects Taught in Elementary Schools, and Ideas as to the Compilation of a Class Book for the Teaching of the same.” By Kimotsuki Kaneyuki.
54. 小學校事務ヲ如何スベキヤ
“How should Elementary Schools be Conducted?” By Kimura Kyō.
54. 本年第四總集會ニ於テ名譽會員佛國公使シエンキユウ井チ閣下ノ演說
“An address delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Society (1887) by the French Minister.”
54. 日本婦女ノ位置ヲ英米ノ婦女ト同ジカラシムル得失如何
“The Advantages and Disadvantages of Giving Women in Japan the same Status as they possess in England and America.” By Hayashi Gonsuke. (Continued in No. 55).
55. 盲人ト聾者トノ不幸ノ比較ニ關スル意見
“A Comparison Between the Afflictions of Blindness and Deafness.” By Kōno Otomaro.
55. 普通學校外國語ノ旨意
“On the Teaching of Foreign Languages in Elementary Schools.” By Kataoka Kunkō.
55. 教育ノ說
“On Education.” By Hara Hyakusuke.
55. 兒童ハ模倣的ノ動物ナリ
“Children are Mimicking Animals.” By Watanabe Yoshishige.

55. 女子ノ教育ヲ改良スルノ一方
“A Method of Improving Female Education.” By Shimizu Naoyoshi.
55. 歐洲ノ商業教育
“Commercial Education in Europe.” By A. Marischal.
56. 教育ノ辯
“A Definition of Education.” By Mori Yoshitsugu.
56. 歴史講窮ノ心得
“Things to be borne in mind in Investigating History.” By Yoshimi Keirin. (Continued in No. 59).
56. 學校ノ規律
“School Regulations.” By Mayama Kan.
56. 小學校教育費
“Expenses in Elementary Schools.” By Ukawa Morisaburō.
57. 日本地名中ニ蝦夷語ノ存スルヲ論ズ
“The Existence of Aino Words in Japanese Place-names.” By B. H. Chamberlain.
57. 地震ニ關ル人心ノ感覺
“Mental Impressions made by Earthquakes.” By J. Milne.
57. 文部省沿革略記
“A Brief Statement of the Reforms that the Department of Education has Undergone.” Anonymous. (Continued in subsequent numbers.)
58. 古代文學論
“On Japanese Ancient Literature.” By Konakamura Kiyonori.
58. 現時兒童養育ノ弊害
“The Evils Connected with the Bringing up of Children at the Present Time.” By Osada Katsukichi
58. 教授ト試験ノ關係
“The Connection of Teaching and Examinations.” By Yamada Heitarō
58. 教室ノ齊頓法
“Order in Class Rooms.” By Matsumoto Ryūtarō
58. 教員獎勵方案
“A Method of Inciting Teachers to Diligence.” By Asagi Naokichi.

58. 小學校教員採用方
"Things to be Observed in the Employment of Teachers in Elementary Schools." By Hiraga Yūtarō.
59. 良善ナル中學教員養生法
"A means of Training Good Teachers for Middle-class Schools."
By E. Hausknecht.
59. 文部大臣説示ノ要旨
"Important Points in the Notification of the Minister of Education."
60. 大學總長ノ演説
"An Address Delivered on the Occasion of the University Graduation Ceremonies." (1887). By Watanabe Hiromoto.
61. 強迫就學論
"Compulsory Education." By Watanabe Yoshishige. (Continued in No. 67).
61. 信仰ノ教育
"The Education of Belief." By Yajima Kinzō. (Continued in No. 65).
61. 修身科ノ試験ヲ論ズ
"Examinations on the Subject of Practical Morals." By Ii-o Sōtarō.
61. 習字改良ハ目下ノ急務ナリ
"The Reform of our Calligraphy most Urgent." By Nakamura Jun-
62. 道義的ノ標準
"Ethical Standards." By W. Dening.
62. 森文部大臣演説ノ要旨
"Important Points of an Address Delivered by the Minister of Education."
63. 教育ノ必要
"The Importance of Education." By G. F. Verbeck.
64. 小學校ト民間トノ關係如何
"The Relation of Elementary Schools to the Population at large."
By Mine Koresaburō.

- 65 ヒポコンデリア
 "Hypochondria." By Nose Ei.
65. 教師組合ヲ設クルノ必要
 "The Importance of Teachers Forming themselves into Associations." By Kusakabe Sannosuke.
66. 學術ヲ異ニスルモノ相誹謗スルハ教育ノ大害ヲ生スルノ説
 "On the Great Injury done to the Cause of Education by the Mutual Animosities of those whose Lines of Study are Different." By Okamoto Shibun.
67. 人品陶成ノ事ヲ論ズ
 "On the Cultivation of Refinement." By Yoshimi Keirin.
68. 徳育ニ付テノ一案
 "An Idea on Ethical Training." By Katō Hiroyuki.
68. 徳育ノ前途
 "The Future of Moral Education." By Sugiura Shigetake.
68. 日本教育ノ進否ハ日本語ノ發達如何ニアリ
 "The Progress of Education in Japan Depends on the Development of the Japanese Language." By C. S. Eby.
69. 東洋ノ歴史
 "On Oriental History." By Nose Ei.
69. 業務ノ尊卑ヲ論シ小學教員ノ地位ヲ進ムルノ方法ニ及ブ
 "On the Reputation Attached to Various Occupations, and its Bearing on the Status of Teachers in Elementary Schools." By Osada Katsukichi.
70. 漢字傳來ノ誤ヲ論ズ
 "On Erroneous Traditions Bearing on the Introduction of Chinese Characters into Japan." By Abe Kōzō.
70. 加藤君ノ徳育方法案ヲ讀ム
 "Mr. Kato's ideas on Ethical Training." By Kikuchi Kumatarō.
70. 小學教員ノ位置ヲ如何セン
 "What shall we do in Reference to the Status of Elementary School Teachers?" By Ikoma Yasuto.

"THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNDERSTANDING."

BY TAKEI TAMOTSU.

A RÉSUMÉ.

We now proceed to give in our own words a résumé of a lecture delivered to the Sayetama Branch of the Japanese Education Society by Mr. Takei Tamotsu on "The Development of the Understanding."⁹

In order to show the importance of the subject discussed by the lecturer and the felicity of his method of treating it, a few introductory remarks on the subject of education in general will not be out of place.

However good the machinery made use of, the thing produced depends very much upon the nature of the material on which the machine works. This is essentially so when the human mind becomes the subject operated upon, and the educational system of a country the instrument employed to mould it into what is considered a proper shape. The Japanese are adopting to a very large extent the educational methods of the West, but the problem that they have to solve for themselves, or some one has to solve for them, is the extent to which our Western methods suit the present condition of the Japanese mind. The question whether the immediate transition from the system to which they have been accustomed to the European one, is not too great a leap, and, if so, what means can be devised for connecting the old with the new, what bridge can be constructed to serve as a highway for the native mind to cross the gulf that lies between its old familiar world and that new unexplored region which it hopes to reach, is at once one of the most urgent and most perplexing questions of the day. A minute study of the educational systems of the various civilised countries of the world, tends to show that they have all been growths rather than creations. In so far as they have succeeded in reaching that final goal of education the teaching of men how to think for themselves, they have been based on a most searching analysis of the peculiar mental characteristics of the people among whom they have been employed, and have been the fruits of the most labourious investigation of the psychological defects and imperfections that previous ages of bad training produced. There is perhaps no mechanical apparatus which, to be successful, needs to be so flexible as that of education. Its

⁹ The lecture will be found in Nos. 3 and 4 of the Society's Journal.

success, like the success of so many other things, depends on perfect adaptability. And because this is so, it is of the utmost importance that, previous to the adoption of any one system in a country, there should be a thorough understanding as to what are the strong and what the weak points in the mind that has to be educated ; and how far the system which it is proposed to introduce is calculated to prove the one most suited to the existent mental condition of its people.

Whether from not recognizing the truth and importance of this, or from a feeling of reluctance to expose to the gaze of unsympathetic foreign eyes the weaknesses and deficiencies of the Japanese mind, or from some other cause, those natives who have published treatises on educational topics have, almost invariably, carefully avoided the subject of national mental peculiarities and characteristics. There are happily some few exceptions to the rule, the lecture of which we propose giving a short résumé being one of them.

Mr. Takei's lecture is well written, and extremely frank and outspoken on a subject which to a native must always be a delicate and somewhat painful one, for no nation cares to confess that it is mentally deficient in some important particulars. The lecturer is evidently a man who has paid considerable attention to the subject which he undertakes to treat. The chief value of his essay lies in its almost exclusive reference to the mind of a Japanese as distinguished from that of a foreigner. Mr. Takei specifies the particulars in which he conceives the native mind to be richly endowed, and those respects in which it seems to him to be very deficient. He states at the outset that his object in giving an analytic account of the condition of the native mind is a practical one, and that he has therefore only pursued the subject as far as its practical bearings render it necessary. Consequently he has not attempted anything like an exhaustive treatment of the psychological phenomena witnessed in this country. He adds that, though in his lecture there will not be wanting matter that will prove gratifying to the Japanese as a nation, yet, in the main, he has rather aimed at bringing into prominence things the existence of which must cause regret, and that his chief object in drawing attention to these things is the bringing about of their reform.

After the introduction, Mr. Takei commences with the remark that

Japanese learning has always been borrowed, and is not a product of the nation, and argues that learning being a product of the intellect, it is in the condition of the latter that we must expect to find the source of that want of independence that characterises all Japanese learning. The deficiency of originating power complained of is certainly owing to some defect in the adopted method of developing the intellect. He goes on to ask in what the development of the intellect consists. There are some, he remarks, who maintain that it consists chiefly of Experience. They say that if a number of things be seen and heard, man's intelligence will develop of itself. Others maintain that it depends on the cultivation of Memory: that if a man has a memory in which to store up all the information which his field of observation yields to him, this will insure to him a mind that is both active and intelligent. There are others again who hold that intelligence depends upon the cultivation of the Reflective faculty; that after things have been seen and heard, and even remembered, if they be not pondered over and the natural laws that underlie them investigated, there can be no true and adequate development of the understanding. Here the lecturer gives it as his opinion that the coöperation of the three processes is absolutely essential; and that, if any one of them be wanting, the effects will show themselves in an imperfectly developed intellect—in want of independence of thought and inventive power.

The substance of the lecturer's subsequent remarks is as follows:—
“There are some who maintain that it is owing to the extremely limited nature of our experience that we Japanese have no learning of our own. Our field of observation has been too confined to allow of our inventing much. But, considering that for centuries we have had the closest intercourse with the Chinese and Koreans, this explanation does not meet the case. The intercourse between ourselves and the Chinese differs but little from that held between the Greeks and the Romans, and yet, whilst both these nations excelled in inventive power, we find ourselves almost totally without it. So it is clear our want of originality is not owing to want of experience.

“Is it owing to lack of Memory? Certainly not. We find ourselves endowed with this faculty in no ordinary way, so that, perhaps, there are few nations that can be compared with us in this respect.

"Is it then want of Reflective power? Though loath to confess it, we are bound to say that it is. Our possessing no independent learning as a nation is owing to this deficiency. If this be so, then it is one of the primary duties of all who are engaged in education to devise means for the developing of this faculty. And this is not so difficult as might at first be supposed; for if as experience grows the habit of fixing the mind attentively on those things with which it comes into contact be acquired, the materials for thought will be too abundant to be soon exhausted. And as for the acquisition of knowledge, if we can only obtain its primary elements, we can work out the rest for ourselves; for, with the reflective power duly developed, thoughts, like seeds in the fields, ought to multiply by hundreds spontaneously.

"And now, to take the three distinct mental faculties mentioned above in order: I.—We have Experience. Experience has been divided into three parts, and made to consist of, (1) Sensation; (2) Attention; (3) Conception. Things which make themselves felt in the mind by means of the senses, produce what is called Sensation. When a Sensation has been produced, then the mind affected by it commences to examine the nature of the Sensation. This is called Attention. When Attention is insured, then the mind sets to work to examine closely into the relation borne by the Sensation to the outer world; and when the law that governs it is perceived, then we have what is called a Conception. Now all these processes are essential to anything like vivid and minute experience; and upon experience that is minute and vivid does all true knowledge rest. II.—Memory. Memory is of two kinds, viz., Verbal and Rational: that is, the words which express thoughts may be retained; or the thoughts themselves, irrespective of the words in which they are expressed, may be remembered. In the acquirement of knowledge one or other, or both, of these kinds of memory is employed. III.—The Reflective power consists of (1) Imagination, or Speculation; and (2) Investigation, or Inquiry. Speculation it is that asks the how and the why of things that exist. It is divided into two parts, one being called Fancy and the other Rational Imagination. Fancy depends on feeling. It is something that can never make much progress or effect much good. But Rational Imagination is the forerunner of all invention. The Inquiring spirit only comes into existence when the

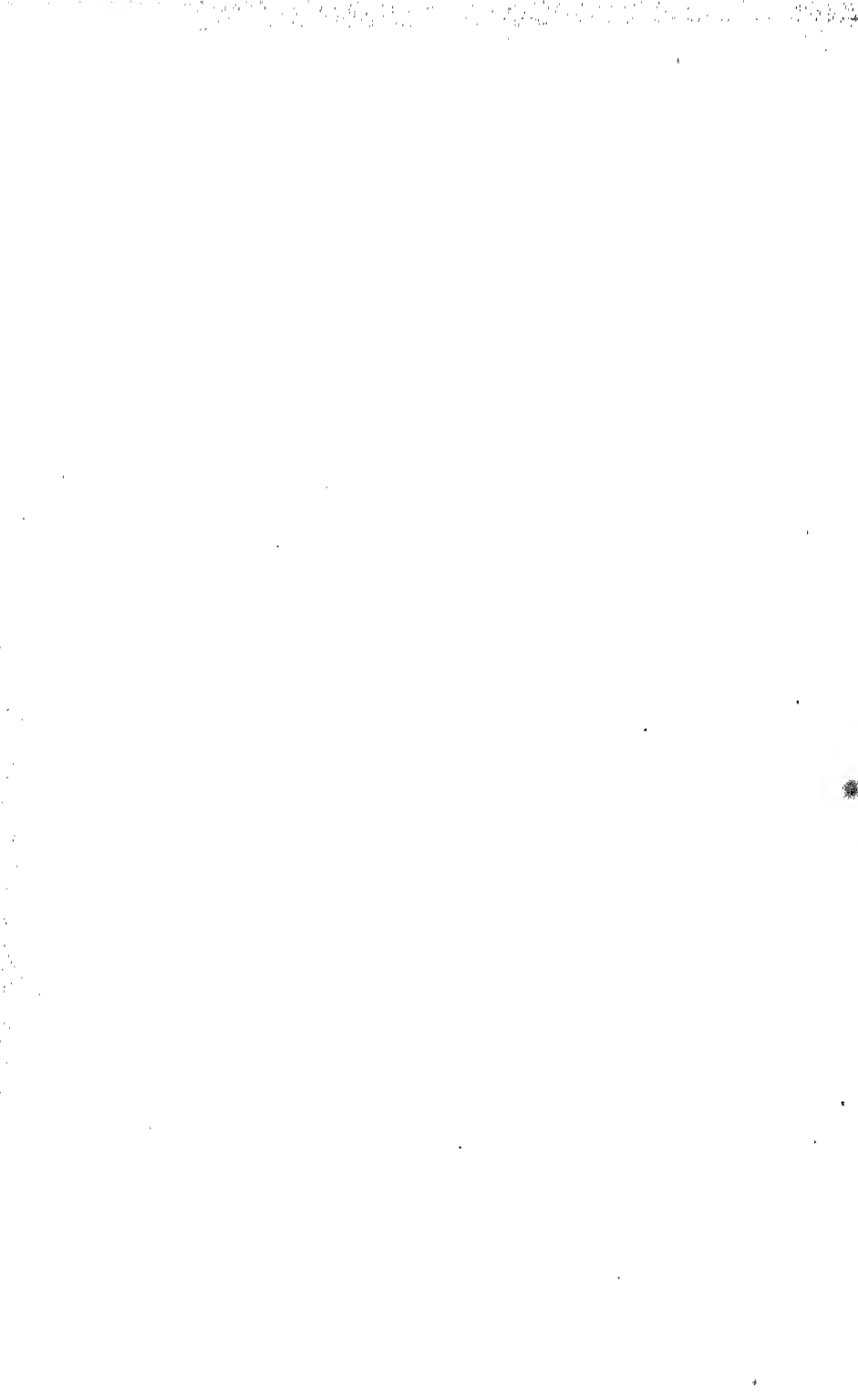
faculty of Rational Imagination is fully developed. The inquiring spirit contains a large element of doubt in it, which leads those who possess it to question the correctness of conclusions to which others have come. The maturing of this faculty is the final goal of all development, and, when accomplished, is the fruitful source of all kinds of knowledge.

"And now, taking the above analysis of mental states and processes as our guide, let us inquire in what respects the Japanese mind is well or ill furnished with those elements that are the *sine quâ non* of all true and thorough development. In the first place, we find that in the Japanese mind there is no lack of Sensation, but in the Attention and Conception which should follow, it is very deficient. Again, although the native mind is endowed with no ordinary amount of Verbal Memorizing power, it is very weak in what is called Rational Memory. Although there is no lack of Fancy, Rational Imagination is very deficient; and as for the Inquiring spirit, it is at such a low ebb that practically it is non-existent. The results of our investigation then are as follows: Deficiencies 5, viz., Attention, Conception, Rational Memory, Rational Imagination and Inquiry. Non-deficiencies 3, viz., Sensation, Verbal Memory and Fancy. For the obtaining of the fruits of the Understanding, it is absolutely necessary that the eight processes sketched above should be faithfully followed. But it seems as though the cultivation of the Japanese mind had been confined to the development of Sensation, Verbal Memory and Fancy. If we divide the powers which contribute to knowledge up into ten parts, then the proportion in which they ought to be present would be as follows:—Experience, $2\frac{1}{2}$; Memory, $2\frac{1}{2}$; Reflection 5. By this we see that the parts which are most deficient in the Japanese mind are those which can least be dispensed with."

Here the lecturer goes on to attempt to show how the existing state of things has come about, discussing their geographical as well as their historical antecedents. It is very possible that the views of Mr. Takei may be objected to by some as somewhat extreme, and that since the lecture was delivered changes have occurred which demand some modifications in the above statements to make them strictly accurate; yet those foreigners who have come into close contact with the Japanese mind and those natives who have given the subject careful and impartial consideration, must admit that there is a great deal of

truth in many of Mr. Takei's remarks, and that psychologists would do well to pursue the inquiry further, making the analysis as exhaustive as possible. The power of the verbal memory of native students in this country is quite astonishing, but if any other language is asked for than that in which the author they are studying has expressed himself, they frequently become embarrassed and speechless. All this is, of course, the effect of the Chinese educational system that has been followed for so many centuries. In it the mind has been concentrated on words or ideographs instead of on ideas, and depth of thought has been sacrificed to a skilful arrangement of phrases.

The primary work of education, then, for a long time to come, must be the developing of the originating, speculating power of the nation. Not until the native mind is freed from the deadening mechanism with which it has been oppressed and bound as with adamant chains, will it cease to be the slave of words, forms, and fixed inflexible processes, and move about at ease in the sea of thought, visiting what region it pleases, and collecting from each place visited such materials as it has to yield, and using its accumulated treasures to strengthen and adorn structures whose designs and execution are alike creations of its own genius, and no longer as heretofore facsimiles or slightly modified reproductions of models invented by others.



SPECIMENS OF AINU FOLK-LORE.

BY THE REV. JNO. BATCHELOR.

[*Read 14th March, 1888.*]

The following specimens of Ainu folk-lore form a small portion of matter which the writer has himself collected, from time to time, during a period of nearly six years. They are merely specimens. Many other examples might be given. But it is presumed that the following half-dozen samples will be fully sufficient to illustrate the manner in which this crude race of men, in the absence of books, keep their legends, fables, and traditions alive.

It is not pretended that all such legends are interesting to general readers, for some of them may be said to be quite ridiculous and nonsensical. Nevertheless, they are all curious in their way, and are certainly well worth studying from a linguistical, philosophical and anthropological standpoint; hence it is hoped that the following specimens of Ainu folk-lore will not come amiss to the ethnologist.

Some of the Ainu legends and traditions are recited in prose, and others in a kind of verse. Those given in verse are recited in a sort of sing-song monotone, whilst those in prose are chanted more in the natural tone of voice.

Each legend has its own particular name, as a reference to those here given will show. In the case of those in verse, the name appears to indicate either the metre or tone of voice, whilst in those given in prose the name seems to point rather to the subject than to the tune or metre. For an example of prose see the last specimen given, and for verse see any of the preceding ones.

The legends or traditions given below will be found in parallel columns, Ainu on one side and an English translation on the other. The divisions into verses or sections are the writer's own, made for his own convenience in the matter of translation and for easy reference; and it is hoped that they will be found useful to any persons who may hereafter either desire to translate the Ainu for themselves, or to compare the one language with the other.

The translation is as literal as possible, but the writer cannot hope, in every case, to have hit upon the exact corresponding English word or phrase. To any one who knows how difficult it is to translate the legends and fables of one nation into the language of another, my misgivings on this point will be easily understood, duly appreciated and it is hoped, generously pardoned.

In order that the theme should not be interrupted, it will be found that most of the notes and explanations have been reserved till the end of each legend.

I will now proceed with the specimens:—

I.—AN AINU LEGEND OF A FAMINE.

INUSA-INUSA.*

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|---|--|
| 1. Inusa-Inusa Ramma kane | 1. There was a woman who was |
| “ puyara otta | ever sitting by the window |
| “ kemeki patek | and doing some kind of needle- |
| “ nepki ne aki | work or other; |
| “ an an awa; | |
| 2. Inusa-Inusa puyara ¹ otta | 2. In the window ¹ of the house |
| “ poro tuki | there was a large cup filled to |
| “ kike-ush ² bashui | the brim with wine, upon |
| “ kanbashui ka | which floated a ceremonial |
| “ momnatara. | moustache-lifter. ³ |
| 3. Inusa-Inusa Kike-ush bashui | 3. The ceremonial moustache- |
| “ tuki kata | lifter was dancing ³ about upon |
| “ tereke-tereke. ³ | the top of the wine cup. |

* *Inusa-inusa* appears to be the name of the tune or tone of voice in which the legend is recited.

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| <p>4. Inusa-Inusa Shongo pa wa
 " pita kane
 " shongo gesh wa
 " atte kane
 " ene hawashi :—</p> <p>5. Inusa-Inusa Ko-ingara gusu,
 " pase Kamui
 " shi no Kamui
 " ene turu pakno
 " eshiknaki he an ?</p> <p>6. Inusa-Inusa Ainu kotan
 " kem-ush iki wa
 " Ainu utara
 " ep ka isam
 " rai wa okere
 " anak ki koroka
 " patek koro kam-
 dachi
 " patek ekor amam
 " tonoto akara
 " ki ruwe ne na.</p> <p>7. Inusa-Inusa Pase Kampi.
 " erampokiwen
 " yuk atte an
 " chep atte an
 " ki wa ne yak ne
 " autara ibe
 " gusu ne na.</p> <p>8. Inusa-Inusa Pase Kamui
 " irampokiwen wa
 " kore, tambe gusu
 " ingar' an awa
 " son no poka
 " Ainu kotan
 " kem-ush an</p> | <p>4. In explaining the subject from the beginning, and setting it forth from the end, the tale runs thus :—</p> <p>5. Now look, do you think that the great God, do you think that the true God was blind ?</p> <p>6. In Ainu land there was a great famine, and the Ainu were dying from want of food ; yet with what little rice-malt and with what little millet they had they made (a cup of) wine.</p> <p>7. Now, the great God had mercy, and, in order that our relatives might eat, produced both deer and fish.</p> <p>8. And the great God had mercy upon us, therefore He looked upon us and, in truth, saw that in Ainu-land there was a famine and that the Ainu had nothing to eat.</p> |
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- Inusa-Inusa Ainu utara
 “ ep ka isam
 “ ki rok okai.
9. Inusa-Inusa Tambe gusu 9. Then was that cup of wine
 “ nei a tuki emptied into six⁴ lacquer-ware⁵
 “ iwan⁴ shintoko⁵ vessels.
 “ oro aota.
10. Inusa-Inusa Iruka ne koro 10. In a very little while the scent
 “ tonoto hura of the wine filled the whole
 “ chisei upshoro house.
 “ etushnatki.
11. Inusa-Inusa Tambe gusu kamui 11. Therefore were all the gods
 “ obitta ashke auk⁶ led⁶ in, and the gods of places
 “ kotan koro kamui were brought from every-
 “ ne wa ne yakka where ;
 “ atak ruwe ne ;
12. Inusa-Inusa Shisak tonoto 12. And they were all well pleased
 “ aukomaktekka with that delicious wine.
 “ ki ruwe ne.
13. Inusa-Inusa Petru-ush mat⁷ 13. Then the goddesses⁷ of the
 “ chiwashekot mat rivers and the goddesses of the
 “ otutapkanru mouths of rivers danced back
 “ ukakushpari. and forth in the house.
14. Inusa-Inusa Taada orota 14. Upon this all the gods laughed
 “ kamui obitta with smiles upon their faces ;
 “ shancha otta
 “ mina kane ;
15. Inusa-Inusa Kamui shiwentep 15. And whilst they looked at the
 “ oshitkurukote goddesses, they saw them pluck
 “ rapoketa out two hairs from a deer ;
 “ tu yuk kishki ;
 “ aetaye-taye ;
16. Inusa-Inusa Iworo shokuruka 16. And, as it were, blow them
 “ akoewara-ewara over the tops of the mountains ;
 “ ne-i korachi ; then appeared two herds of
 “ apka topa deer skipping upon the moun-

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| Inusa-Inusa shinna kane | tain tops, one of bucks and the |
| “ momambe topa | other of does. |
| “ shinna kane | |
| “ iworo shokata | |
| “ aruterekere. | |
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| 17. Inusa-Inusa Tu chep ramram | 17. Then they plucked out two |
| “ arishpa-rishpa | scales from a fish, and, as it |
| “ pet iworo shoka | were, blew them over the |
| “ akoewara-ewara | the rivers, and the beds of the |
| “ ne-i korachi | rivers were so crowded with |
| “ pokna chep rup | fish that they scraped upon |
| “ shuma shiru | the stones, and the tops of the |
| “ kanna chep rup | rivers were so full that the fish |
| “ shem korachi. | stood out like the porches of |
| | houses and were dried up by |
| | the sun. |
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| 18. Inusa-Inusa Chep ne manup | 18. So the things called fish filled |
| “ pet iworo shoka | all the rivers to the brim. |
| “ eumashtekka. | |
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| 19. Inusa-Inusa Tap orowa no | 19. Then the Ainu went fishing |
| “ Ainu utara | and caused their boats to |
| “ chep koiki gusu | dance upon the rivers. |
| “ pet iworo kata | |
| “ chip terekere. | |
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|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 20. Inusa-Inusa Chepnu ko-okai | 20. The young men now found |
| “ iworo shokata | fish and venison in rich abun- |
| “ okkaibo utara | dance. |
| “ yuknu ko-kai. | |
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- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 21. Tambe gusu Ainu moshiri | 21. Hence it is that Ainu-land is |
| pirika ruwe ne. Tambe gusu | so good. Hence it is that |
| shashui shiri pak no tan | from ancient times till now |
| eramaure an ruwe ne. Tambe | there has been hunting. Hence |
| gusu nei aramanre uruokata | it is that there are inheritors |
| an ruwe ne na. | to this hunting. |

NOTE ON VERSE 2.

¹This *puvara* or window is always placed in the east end of a hut. It is the sacred window, and no person may look into a hut through it without incurring the penalty of great displeasure from the owner thereof. The Ainu often worship towards the sun rising through it, and always, in their libations, three drops of wine are thrown towards it. Outside of this window there are always clusters of whittled willow sticks, called *inao* or *musa*, to be seen.

These are placed there as offerings to the gods, as a sign to them of the devoutness of the worshipper. Besides these willow offerings, one may often see long poles stuck into the earth having the skulls of bears or deer placed upon them as a sign of thankfulness for success in the hunt. This window, then, being so sacred and, in a sense, the peculiar property of the gods, we may easily understand why a large, well-filled cup of wine was placed before it. It was an offering, and was placed there to solicit the favour of the gods.

²The ceremonial moustache-lifters are peculiarly made, and are used for special religious purposes. They are of different patterns. Some have bears and some have deer carved upon them. The present one, however, is called *Kike-ush bashui*, i.e. a moustache-lifter with shavings left upon the top of it. It is especially used at worship when supplications are made for any particular benefits. Those which have animals carved upon them are generally used when thanks are made to the gods, whilst a common moustache-lifter, having no particular carving upon it, is used on general occasions, as for instance, when some news of any kind is being made known, or when a friend or relative makes a call.

The use of these moustache-lifters is peculiar. The *raison d'être* seems to be: *First*, to keep the moustache out of the wine, and *secondly*, to offer drops of drink to the gods with. Three drops must be given to the fire goddess, three thrown towards the east window, three towards the north-east corner of the hut where the Ainu treasures are kept, and then three drops must be offered to any special god for whose benefit the libations are offered or to whom the Ainu are paying worship.

Wine enters very largely into all the religious worship of the Ainu, and they often make religion a pretext for getting intoxicated. It has occurred to me that perhaps this legend of the famine is kept alive only in order to show how good a thing it is to make wine and how well-pleasing to the gods it is to offer libations to them. It was the smell of the wine which drew the gods together, it was wine which pleased the goddesses and made them dance, it was wine again which caused the male gods to smile; in short, it was all owing to this one large cup of wine that food was brought to the Ainu and that there are any of them alive now. It was the wine which even caused the moustache-lifter to float about and dance upon the top of the cup! What a sight is a full cup of wine to an Ainu! How quickly his eyes sparkle and dance with delight when he sees it! The very sound of the word *sake* or *tonoto* makes him smack his lips.

NOTE ON VERSE 3.

³The word *tereke-tereke*, which I have here translated by "dancing about," really means to "jump," "skip," or "hop about." Here two ideas are introduced:—*First* the cup was so full of wine that the very moustache-lifter could float upon it without touching the brim; *secondly* the moustache-lifter was so pleased that it could not contain itself, but must needs skip, jump, hop or dance about with delight! So good and powerful was the wine.

NOTE ON VERSE 4.

This is merely an Ainu idiom and expresses the idea that this particular subject shall be thoroughly explained and set forth.

NOTE ON VERSE 5.

The idea contained in these lines seems to be this:—Though the Ainu were in such straits, yet it was not without the knowledge of the gods; and it was not possible that they should neglect this large cup of delicious wine which was placed in the window for their special delectation. It was made and placed there in order to get the gods together that they might talk over this mighty famine, to put them into a good temper and cause them to help the Ainu in this their sad calamity. No! the gods were not blind.

NOTE ON VERSE 6.

Though food was so very scarce, yet what little rice or millet the Ainu had they gave it up to the gods. They made a little choice wine as an offering and presented it to them. Hence may be seen the devoutness of the ancients. The result was as is stated in the 7th verse; fish and venison were caused to abound! The prayer was heard and answered.

NOTE ON VERSE 9.

⁴Six appears to be the sacred or perfect number of the Ainu; hence, a little of the wine was put into each of the six lacquer-ware vessels.

⁵These lacquer-ware vessels are of Japanese make and are highly prized by the Ainu. In fact, they look upon them as special treasures, and the importance of a man is measured by the number of these vessels in his possession, and by the number of old swords he has. It is said that, in ancient times, the Japanese rulers used to sell these vessels to the Ainu, well filled with *sake*, of course, for fish and the skins of animals. Money was never paid for these things. Hence, at a drinking ceremony, the very best lacquer-ware vessels are produced; the wine is poured into them and then ladled out into wine-cups and handed round. Strange to say, the women are allowed to come in and sit behind their husbands and drink, if anything is handed to them, though they must never take part in the prayers. The women, however, get very little wine indeed! Wine was made for gods and men,

not for women. The mistress in whose house the libations are offered is allowed to produce a bottle—not a large one, to be sure, but still a bottle—which is filled and kept for her private use! The lucky woman generally hides this bottle, lest her loving husband should steal it and relieve her of the contents thereof!

NOTE ON VERSE 11.

⁶The word *ashke auk*, which I have here translated by “led in,” really means “to be led in by the hand.” The Ainu have a very curious custom of taking persons by the hand and leading them into the house; it is a sign of great honour to be so led. It is considered to be the height of disrespect to enter an Ainu hut without first giving warning of one's presence; but as there are no doors to the huts, a caller thus being unable to knock before entering, he must wait outside and cough or make a noise with his throat till some one comes out and either asks him to walk in or takes him by the hand and leads him to a seat by the fire. Thus, out of great respect, the gods were led into the hut by the hand.

NOTE ON VERSE 13.

⁷*Petru-ush mat* is the goddess of rivers from their source to their outlet, and *Chiwashkot mat* presides over their mouths.

II.—ANOTHER LEGEND OF A FAMINE.

The following curious lines were sung to me by an aged Ainu to whom I had just been explaining the dangers and evils of drinking too much wine, and to whom I had been endeavouring to show how much better it is to worship God in spirit and in truth than by offering Him wine and whittled pieces of willow wood. The old man's object in singing this tradition to me was to enforce upon my mind the fact that, notwithstanding all I had said, the gods were, at the time of the famine indicated below, pleased with these offerings, and are still delighted when the devout worshipper indicates his sincerity by setting these things before them.

This song, tradition, legend, or whatever it may be called, is quite typical of the way in which the Ainu convey their thoughts on religion and other serious matters to one another; and I give it here as an example thereof.

KIMTA NA.*

- | | | |
|----------------------|-----------|---|
| 1. Hepokitekka | Kimta na. | 1. There was something upon the |
| Heteshtekka | " | seas bowing and raising its |
| Atuye tomo-tuye. | " | head. |
| 2. Paian aine | Kimta na. | 2. And when they came to see |
| Shietashbe | " | what it was, they found it to be |
| Mokoro okai | " | a monstrous sea-lion fast |
| Aamkokomo | " | asleep, which they seized and |
| Akoro wa yan au. | " | brought ashore. |
| 3. Ingar' ike | Kimta na. | 3. Now, when we look at the |
| Ainu kotan | " | matter, we find that there was |
| Kem-ush rok okai. | " | a famine in Ainu-land. |
| 4. Chinukara wa gusu | Kimta na. | 4. And we see that a large sea- |
| Shishiri-muka | " | lion was cast upon the shores of |
| Sanobutu | " | the mouth of the Saru river. |
| Poru etashbe | " | |
| Chioyange. | " | |
| 5. Tambe gusu | Kimta na. | 5. Thus the Ainu were able to eat |
| Ainu utare | " | (i. e. obtained food). |
| Ibe ruwe ne. | " | |
| 6. Tambe gusu | Kimta na. | 6. For this reason <i>inao</i> and wine |
| Ainu orowa no | " | were offered to the gods. |
| Inao ne yakka | " | |
| Tonoto ne yakka | " | |
| Eyaiyattasa ruwe ne. | " | |
| 7. Aeyai kamui | Kimta na. | 7. So the gods to whom these |
| Nere kane | " | offering were made <i>were</i> pleased |
| An an ruwe ne. | " | and <i>are</i> pleased. |

The first and second of these verses are a kind of introductory statement of the theme. The remote ancestors of the Ainu race are represented as having seen some large and curious object floating about upon the tops of the waves of the sea, and rising and falling with them. The men, therefore, launch their boats and go to see what the object

* *Kimta na* is the name of the tune or tone of voice in which this legend is recited.

may be. They find it is a mighty sea-lion (*shietashbe*). They then seize the animal, and, by some means or other (how is not stated) bring it ashore.

The third and fourth verses make known the fact that at this particular time there was a famine in Ainu-land, and that the Ainu of to-day, in looking back upon this sad calamity, see in the sleeping sea-lion the hand of the gods working to preserve the race from starvation and certain destruction. This mighty sea-monster is said to have been cast upon the shores of the mouth of the Saru river. Saru, it should be remembered, is regarded by the Ainu of the south of Yezo as the chief district in this island; and the *Shishiri-muka* is the largest river in Saru.

Verses six and seven are intended to show that libations of wine and the offering of *Inao* (*i.e.* whittled pieces of willow wood having the shavings left attached) have *always* been a well-pleasing sacrifice to the gods, and therefore *are* so now. They pleased the gods at *that* time, and that they please them *now* is seen from the fact that food is still extended to the Ainu race. Hence one great reason why such ancient religious customs should not be abolished. Hence too, according to Ainu reasoning, this race of men have no cause to change one form of religion and its accompanying ceremonies and rites for another. Thus we see that the Ainu, though without knowledge, are by no means without reason, nor are they so stupid and easily led as some people may have us suppose.

III.—AN AINU LEGEND OF THE LARGE TROUT.

PIU-HAM-PIU.*

- | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Piu-ham-piu Shishiri-muka | 1. At the source of the Saru river |
| “ pet etokota | there is a large lake. |
| “ poro to an ruwe ne. | |
| 2. Piu-ham-piu Nei a orota | 2. In this lake there was a monster |

**Piu-ham-piu* is the name of the tune or tone of voice in which this legend is recited.

- Piu-ham-piu poro tokushish trout which was so big that it
 " to pa ne-i used to flap its (*pectoral*) fins
 " amokrap shuye at one end and wave its tail at
 " to kes ta the other.
 " atkochi shuye
 " koran ruwe ne.
3. Piu-ham-piu Kamui kowekari; 3. Then the honourable ancestors
 " akoiki gusu met and went to kill this fish,
 " uwekarapa ruwe ne; but found themselves unable to
 " koroka araige accomplish their end, though
 " eaiikap ruwe ne; they attempted to do so for
 " anukara many days.
 " koran an,
 " ramma kane
 " ki ruwe ne.
4. Piu-ham-piu Ikorampoktuye 4. Because, then, they very much
 " an wa ne yak ne desired to kill the fish, the gods,
 " Ainu moshiri who had a special regard for
 " aeyam gusu the welfare of Ainu-land, sent
 " kando orowa no help from heaven.
 " ikaobas an.
5. Piu-ham-piu Ran an ine 5. And, the gods descending, they
 " poro tokushish seized the great trout with their
 " am-kokishima. hands (claws).
6. Piu-ham-piu Poro tokushish 6. Upon this it plunged mightily
 " arikiki koro and went to the bottom of the
 " aerahekatta. lake with great force.
7. Piu-ham-piu Arikiki an koro 7. Then the gods put forth all
 " poro tokushish their power, and, drawing the
 " kambekuru ka great trout to the surface of the
 " aepusu kara aine water, brought it ashore.
 " ayange.
8. Piu-ham-piu Kamui obitta 8. Upon this all the honourable
 " emush etaye ancestors drew their swords
 " tata-tata and chopped the fish till they
 " a-oanraige. quite killed it.

It is said that this mighty trout was in the habit, not only of swallowing any animals, such as deer and bears, that might come to the shores of the lake to drink, but would sometimes swallow up men, women and children. Nay, not only so, but even whole boats full of people! Yes, boats and all! Hence it was that the ancients were so anxious to slay this monster.

The Ainu appear to have a special dread of large lakes, because they say that every now and again one of these monster fish suddenly puts in an appearance, and commences its destructive work of swallowing animals and human beings. Only a few hundred years ago, say they, one of these awful fish was found dead upon the shores of the *Shikot*¹ to (Chitose lake). This monster had swallowed a large deer, horns and all, but the horns caused a severe attack of indigestion to come on, which the fish could not get over; nay, the horns were so long that they protruded from its stomach and caused its death.

It is to the actions of one of these monstrous fish that all earthquakes, of which there are many occurrences in Yezo, are to be traced. The earth, *i.e.*, so far as Ainu-land is concerned, is supposed to rest upon the back of one of these creatures; and, whenever it moves, the world, as a matter of course, must feel the effects and move also. This earthquake-causing fish is sometimes called *Tokushish*, *i.e.*, "trout"; and sometimes *Moshiri ikkewe chep*, *i.e.* "the backbone fish of the world."

¹ *A propos* the *Shikot* or *Chitose* lake, it may perhaps be worth recording that the Ainu say the sea used to come up to its very borders, so that large junks from Japan formerly anchored there; and that the present lake is neither half so large nor deep as it used to be. Volcanic eruptions have, according to Ainu traditions, been the powers at work here. *Shikot* is really the old name of the river which flows into this lake, and from which the lake formerly took its name.

IV.—AN AINU TRADITION CONCERNING OKIKURUMI AND SAMAI.

TUSUNABANU.*

- | | | |
|----------------------------|-------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Okikurumi ¹ | Tusunabanu. | 1. Okikurumi and Samai came to |
| Samai un guru ² | " | harpoon the sword-fish. |
| Utura ine | " | |
| Repa gusu ariki | " | |
| 2. Ru etok oroge | Tusunabanu. | 2. And we waited for them at the |
| Chi aiwakte | " | fishing place. |
| Okai ash awa | " | |
| 3. Ariki ine | Tusunabanu. | 3. When they came they effect- |
| Aishirikoōtke | " | ually harpooned a large fish. |
| 4. Tap orawa no | Tusunabanu. | 4. From this point the fish went |
| Atui pa ne | " | from one end of the sea to the |
| Atui gesh ne | " | other, taking the boat with it. |
| Chip ekira ash | " | |
| 5. Tane aine | Tusunabanu. | 5. Now Samai collapsed for want |
| Samai un guru | " | of strength. |
| Kiroro ekot | " | |
| 6. Okikurumi | Tusunabanu. | 6. Upon this Okikurumi put forth |
| Ashiri iporo | " | all his strength and wrought |
| Ikosange | " | with the grunt of a young man. |
| Peure humsei | " | |
| Yaikopuni | " | |

* *Tusunabanu* is the tune or tone of voice in which this legend is recited.

¹ *Okikurumi* is the Ainu name of the Japanese hero Kurōhōnguan Minamoto no Yoshitsune, who was driven to Yezo by his younger brother in the 12th century of our era, and who is said by the Ainu to have taught their ancestors the arts of hunting and fishing.

² *Samai un guru* stands for *Benkei*, who was the servant and retainer of Yoshitsune, and who is said to have accompanied him to Yezo. *Samai un guru* merely means "a Japanese," *Samai* being short for *Samoro*, which is the Ainu name for "Japan," e.g. *Samoro kotan*, "Japan," *Samoro un guru* or *Samai un guru*, "a Japanese." Here I may add, the name of the famous volcanic mountain, the *Fuji Yama* of the Japanese, is possibly none other than a corruption of the Ainu name *Huchi Kamui*, who is supposed to be the goddess of fire.

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------|--|
| 7. Tane aine | Tusunabanu. | 7. Then there arose upon the |
| Okikurumi | " | palms and back of his hands |
| Tek tui poki | " | two blood-stained blisters. |
| Tek tui kashi | " | |
| Tu kem poppise | " | |
| Ehopuni | " | |
| 8. Tane aine | Tusunabanu. | 8. And with temper depicted upon |
| Okikurumi | " | his countenance Okikurumi |
| Koro wen-buri | " | said :— |
| Enanguru kashi | " | |
| Epukitara | " | |
| Ene itak-hi | " | |
| 9. Tan wen shirikap | Tusunabanu. | 9. Oh, this bad sword-fish, as you |
| E iki gusu | " | are doing this I will cut the |
| E kotush tuye na | " | harpoon line ; |
| 10. Kite anak ne | Tusunabanu. | 10. And because upon the harpoon |
| Kite not anak | " | head there is metal, you shall |
| Kane ne gusu | " | greatly suffer from the noise of |
| E oshike un | " | striking iron and grinding bones |
| Kane kik hum | " | in your stomach ; |
| Pone keure hum | " | |
| E kouramu-shitne | " | |
| 11. Hai tush anak | Tusunabanu. | 11. Because the line is made of |
| Hai ne gusu | " | hemp, a plain of hemp shall |
| E ka wa hai sara | " | grow out of thee ; |
| Hopuni | " | |
| 12. Tush anak ne | Tusunabanu. | 12. Because the rope is made of |
| Nipesh ³ ne gusu | " | <i>Nipesh</i> , a <i>Nipesh</i> forest shall |
| E ka wa nipesh | " | grow from thy back ; |
| Tai hopuni | " | |
| 13. E wen-ekot yak | Tusunabanu. | 13. And when you die you shall be |
| Shishiri-muka ⁴ | " | cast into the mouth of the Shi- |

³*Nipesh* is the name of the tree with the bark of which the Ainu make their fishing ropes. It is called in Japanese *Shina no ki*.

- | | | |
|----------------|-------------|--|
| San o butu | Tusunabanu. | shiri-muka ⁴ river, and crows |
| E oyan yak ne | " | and many kinds of dogs shall |
| Paskuru | " | congregate upon thee and defile |
| Usa seta | " | thee. |
| Aukotoisere | " | |
| E ka un osoma | " | |
| E ka un okuima | " | |
| Nangon na | " | |
14. Eraman Tusunabanu. 14. Now, though the sword-fish
 Hawe ash koroka " said it understood, and thought
 Ainu itak newa " it was Ainu that was spoken,
 Ambe yainu au gusu " yet it secretly laughed and
 Range mina " went its way.
 Auweshuye "
 Arapa an awa "
15. Arapa an tek koro Tusunabanu. 15. But before it had gone any
 A oshike un " great distance, mighty pains
 Kane kik hum " seized it, and in its stomach
 Pone keure hum " was heard the sound of strik-
 Utasa tasa " ing iron and of grinding
 Aekonramu " bones.
 Shitne kane "
 Tanak kane "
16. I ka wa hai sara Tusunabanu. 16. And plains of hemp and
 Hetuku " forests of *Nipesh* and *Shiuri*
 Nipesh tai " sprouting forth from its body,
 Hetuku " it was cast ashore in a dying
 Shiuri⁵ tai " condition.
 Hetuku "
 Iki an aine "
 Rai an aine "
 Koi-yange an "

⁴ *Shishiri-muka* is the name of the Saru river.

⁵ *Shiuri*. This is the name of the wood out of which harpoon shafts are made. The Japanese of Yezo call this wood *Nigaki*.

- | | | |
|-----------------------|-------------|------------------------------------|
| 17. Usa seta | Tusunabanu. | 17. Then the dogs and crows |
| Usa paskuru | " | congregated upon it and |
| I-ukotoi sere | " | defiled it. |
| I ka un osoma | " | |
| I ka un okuima | " | |
| 18. Tane awa | Tusunabanu. | 18. Upon this Okikurumi came |
| Okikurumi | " | down from the mountains and |
| Sap wa ariki | " | said :— |
| Ene itaki | " | |
| 19. Tan wen shirikap | Tusunabanu. | 19. Oh ! you bad sword-fish, it is |
| E renga gusu | " | by your own fault and for |
| E kip ne gusu | " | your own doings that you are |
| Aepakashnu | " | thus punished. |
| Shiri ne na | " | |
| 20. Apokna notkewe | Tusunabanu. | 20. Your lower jaw shall be used |
| Ashinru ne koro | " | in the out-house, and your |
| Akanna notkewe | " | upper one shall be sunk with |
| Shuma korende | " | a stone, and you must die a |
| Tu rai wen rai | " | very hard and painful death. |
| Aki ruwe ne na | " | |
| 21. Tan okai shirikap | Tusunabanu. | 21. Do not treat this Ainu tale of |
| Ainu itak | " | the sword-fish slightly. |
| Iteki irara yan | " | |

The object of this tradition appears to be threefold.

First to preserve and hand down to posterity the fact that Yoshitune and Benkei once resided among the Ainu race and taught the people how to catch the larger kinds of fish. That these two persons really came to Yezo (and there can be but little doubt as to their having gone to Saghalien also) and dwelt at Saru for a time, seems almost indisputable, but what eventually became of them we are unable to determine, at least from what Ainu traditions have hitherto been obtained. We may perhaps learn more in time.

The second object of this tradition is to teach people not to despise a new-comer or stranger, but rather to see what he can do and what useful things may be learned from him, e.g. the tradition says :—*Ru*

etok oroge chiaiwakte okai ash awa, "and we waited for them at the fishing place." The Ainu interpret this by saying that the ancients took their boats and went to the point where the fishing was to commence, and waited for the appearance of Yoshitsune and Benkei. Their motive, however, was to see beforehand where the best fish might be caught and to return more successful than their Japanese friends. They did not so much desire to learn from them as to parade their own skill. But it turned out that the Ainu caught no fish, whilst Yoshitsune secured the very king of the sword-fish !

In the third place this tradition teaches the Ainu not to forget the exceeding great power of Yoshitsune. Though Benkei dropped down in the boat through sheer exhaustion, and the harpoon line had to be cut, yet Yoshitsune turned out to be the conqueror. He cursed the fish with a mighty curse. Forests of trees and plains of hemp were to grow from its body, and its interior was to resound again with the noise of iron striking together and of grinding bones. It was to die a hard and painful death, be cast into the mouth of the Saru river and be horribly defiled by crows and dogs. Such was the curse, and so indeed, say the Ainu, did all surely come to pass. The tradition finishes up with a caution not to treat this Ainu tale in a slighting manner.

V.—LEGEND OF OKIKURUMI IN LOVE.

The following ridiculous legend of the hero Okikurumi in love with an Ainu maiden was told me some four years ago by an old man who has, I believe, since passed away. It is a curious production altogether. In hearing the commencement of this legend, I had expected great things, but in the end found that it finished up with nothing.

The purpose for which this legend is recited seems to be to teach young lovers never to despair even if they cannot obtain the objects of their affections, and never to look too much after the softer sex. The great Okikurumi fell deeply in love ; he became very ill, exceedingly love-

sick ; he lost his appetite and bodily strength. He laid down in his hut in sullen despair and would eat neither good food nor bad ; he was, in short, ready to die of love ; and, mark you, all this happened through taking just one glance at a beautiful woman. "Dear, dear," says the legend, "how badly he felt !" Therefore let the young beware.

But Okikurumi gets cured of his dangerous malady. A little bird flies to the cause of this affliction—the object of his affections. Word is brought to her of his deep-seated love and critical condition. The pretty little bird wags its tail and whispers in the lady's ear that, if Okikurumi dies, the soul of Ainu-land will also depart. Therefore the bird begs her to have mercy upon poor Okikurumi for the sake of Ainu-land. The intercession is successful. An unreal, unsubstantial woman is made in the likeness of the beauty Okikurumi was smitten with. She is brought to his hut, and forthwith proceeds to arrange the mats, furniture and ornaments. Okikurumi takes a sly glance at her through his arm hole or sleeve ; he is encouraged ; he gets up, rejoices, eats food, is revived and feels strong again. This done, the lady takes her departure : she is not. What then does Okikurumi do ? Why, he sees that he has been deceived in the woman ; and, as "there was nothing to be done, nothing to be said," he got well again like a sensible man.

I will now proceed to give the legend.

AHETENRAI.*

- | | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Ahetenrai ahetenrai Pase Kamui | 1. The goddess felt lonely and |
| " mishmu gusu | gazed upon the inside and |
| " aunturuba | surveyed the outside of the |
| " kamui koshi- | house. |
| kiru | |
| " sounturuba | |
| " kamui koshi- | |
| kiru. | |
| 2. Ahetenrai ahetenrai Soyemba | 2. She went out, and behold, |
| " kamui ingar'- | |
| ike, | |

* *Ahetenrai* is the tune or tone of voice in which this legend is recited.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 3. Ahetenrai ahetenrai Ainu moshiri | 3. The clouds were floating and |
| “ moshirikuru- | waving about in beautiful |
| “ kashi | terraces upon the horizon over |
| “ rakrak paye | Ainu-land. Yes, that is what |
| “ an ramasu | she saw. |
| “ auweshuye ; | |
| “ ingar'ike | |
| “ kor'an awa. | |
| 4. Ahetenrai ahetenrai Hetopo- | 4. So she returned into the house |
| “ horo-ka | backwards, and took down her |
| “ aun chisei ta | needle-work. |
| “ ahup an aine | |
| “ akemekarape | |
| “ asan asange. | |
| 5. Ahetenrai ahetenrai Ashiri-kinne | 5. Again she looked to the point |
| “ kemru etok | of her needle, and fixed her |
| “ Anukara, | gaze upon the eye end thereof ; |
| “ kemru oka | |
| “ ashik-kotesu | |
| “ an an awa ; | |
| 6. Ahetenrai ahetenrai Puyara shik- | 6. Then came a little bird called |
| “ rap kata | “ water wagtail,” and sat upon |
| “ enumnoya ari | the window shutter and wagged |
| “ aye chikappo | its tail up and down and waved |
| “ eshish-o un | it from right to left. |
| “ eharikiso un | |
| “ ishitara | |
| “ pange | |
| “ ishitara | |
| “ shuye. | |
| 7. Ahetenrai ahetenrai Tuitak mawe | 7. Then two chirps and three |
| “ ne | chirps came to her and touched |
| “ re itak mawe | the inside surface of her ears, |
| “ ne | and what she heard was this:— |
| “ iko-ariki | |

Ahetenrai ahetenrai apui koto-ro

“ chikurure

“ ene okai-

hi:—

8. Ahetenrai ahetenrai Pase kamui

“ Ainu-kotan

“ Ainu-moshiri

“ epungine ka-
mui

“ Okikurumi

“ pon no esoine

“ e nukara awa

“ eyaikatekara.

9. Ahetenrai ahetenrai Tambe gusu

“ tu wen chi-

e-kunip

“ tu pirika chi-

e-kunip

“ tuhar'ike

“ not-echiu

“ an ruwe ne

na.

10. Ahetenrai ahetenrai Okikurumi

“ rai wa ne

yakne

“ Ainu-moshiri

“ ramachi isam

an na.

11. Ahetenrai ahetenrai Okikurumi

shiknu

kuni

“ kara wa

“ inunukashiki

wa

“ kore yan,

“ enumnoye ari

8. The mighty Okikurumi, who is the governor of all Ainu-land, went out of doors for a little while, and, seeing you, has fallen ill of love on your account.

9. And though two bad fish and two good fish were placed before him for food he refused to eat.

10. Now, if Okikurumi should die, the soul of Ainu-land will depart.

11. Then the little bird called “water-wagtail,” waving its tail, spake two words to her and said: “Have mercy upon us that Okikurumi may live.”

Ahetenrai ahetenrai aye chikappo

“ ishitara

mawe

“ tu itak sa ne

“ iko-ariki.

12. Ahetenrai ahetenrai Tambe

gusu

“ Ainu-moshiri

“ otta ingar'an

awa

“ Okikurumi

“ iyeyaikateka-

ra gusu

“ tu wen chi-

e-kunip

“ tu pirika chi-e

kunip

tukar'ike

“ not-echi a an.

13. Ahetenrai ahetenrai Yaikarap

“ kentum ayai-

koropare !

14. Ahetenrai ahetenrai Tambegusu

“ ine no an shi-

wentep

“ ateke kara

“ Okikurumi

orota

“ aranre.

15. Ahetenrai ahetenrai Ayoikirika-

ta; nei a

shiwentep

“ arande

“ yoyikirikara

an.

12. Thus, then, by simply look-

ing out upon the world Oki-

kurumi fell so sick of love

that though two bad fish and

two good fish were set before

him, he could not eat.

13. Dear, dear, how badly he

felt !

14. Therefore the form of a

woman resembling the god-

dess was made and sent

down to Okikurumi.

15. The house was set in order ;

that woman who was sent

down put things to rights.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 16. Ahetenrai ahetenrai Okikurumi | 16. Then Okikurumi looked |
| “ tusa pui kari | through his sleeve and saw |
| “ ingara wa | the beautiful woman ; |
| “ kamui shi- | |
| wentep an ; | |
| 17. Ahetenrai ahetenrai Yaikopuntek | 17. He got up greatly rejoicing ; |
| “ hopuni ine | he ate some food ; strength |
| “ usa ibe-ambe | came back to his body, and,— |
| ibe, | the woman was gone. |
| “ netobake pi- | |
| rika | |
| “ orowa no | |
| “ nei a shiwen- | |
| tep isam. | |
| 18. Ahetenrai ahetenrai Okikurumi | 18. Okikurumi saw he had been |
| “ akoshunge | deceived, but there was no- |
| katu | thing to be done and nothing |
| “ eram'an, | to say, so he got well. |
| “ ene akari ka | |
| isam, | |
| “ ene ye-hi ka | |
| isam, | |
| “ orowa no pi- | |
| rika ruwe | |
| ne. | |

NOTES.

Verses one to three are a mere introductory statement as to how it was that Okikurumi first caught sight of this beautiful woman with whom he fell in love. She had been sitting in the hut and now felt a little lonesome, restless or tired. Her eyes had been wandering about from one object to another with weary solitude. She gets up, goes outside in an aimless kind of way and scans the horizon, which she sees is very beautiful in its grandeur, the clouds being piled one upon another in terrace-like masses. She feels revived and returns into her hut.

The fourth verse tells us that this lady returned into the house

backwards (*hetopo-horoka*). This is a sign of great respect. A woman, when going out of a hut or from the presence of a man, must always, according to Ainu etiquette, walk slowly out backwards. She must never turn her back on a man! She must always honour her betters, i. e. the opposite sex. She must also smooth back her hair, draw her finger across her upper lip and cover her mouth with her hand. This is the woman's mode of salutation and showing honour to her superiors. In the present case, however, this comely woman was paying respects to the brilliant beauties of nature which she saw depicted upon the heavens, hence she came into her hut reverently walking backwards.

Here I may perhaps note in passing, that, when men are talking together in a house, the women present must endeavour to become nonentities. They must sit apart and either keep silent or speak in whispers. They generally sit in a ring and go on with what work they have in hand, such as needle-work, making string or cloth, or cleaning fish. They are supposed to be neither seen nor heard, though they must of course be at the beck and call of the men and attend to the fire.

Also in passing a man in the forest, she must always make way for the stronger sex, must cover her mouth with her hand and not speak unless spoken to.

The fifth verse merely describes how intent the lady was upon her sewing. She looked at "the point of her needle, and fixed her gaze upon the eye end thereof," says the legend.

Verse six. The water-wagtail is much esteemed by the Ainu, for they consider it to be a bird of good omen. It is supposed to be the first bird that was created, and is thought to be a special favourite and companion of the gods. Hence verse seven tells us that this bird was chosen and sent to convey the intelligence of Okikurumi's love-stricken heart and critical condition to this beautiful and industrious damsel. The burden of the bird's speech is contained in verses eight to eleven.

Verse nine. The words "two bad fish and two good fish" form an expression indicating that whatever food was placed before Okikurumi, whether good or bad, he could not touch it. He was so very love-sick. "Dear, dear," says the thirteenth verse, "how badly he felt!"

Verse ten expresses what a sad calamity it would be if Okikurumi were to die. He was the very life and hope of the Ainu.

Let every one take warning from verses twelve and thirteen. It is not good to look upon a woman and become love-stricken and love-sick on her account. See what Okikurumi suffered.

The remainder of these verses merely tell us how easily the great Okikurumi himself was deceived by a shadow.

The moral the Ainu draw is:—Do not be too easily deceived by woman's love, for it soon passes away like a mere unsubstantial phantom or shadow; or as the words are:—"it is not," i. e. it ceases to be. *Therefore beware.*

VI.—A LEGEND OF OKIKURUMI AND HIS WIFE TEACHING THE AINU HOW TO FELL TREES.

I suppose there are very few persons now residing in Japan who doubt that the Ainu once inhabited, at all events, the whole of Japan proper, north of Sendai. And, indeed, there appears to be ample proof showing that they also penetrated farther south even than Tōkyō.

The scene of the following legend is laid in the northern part of Japan, probably in the province of Nambu or Tsugaru. It is said that Okikurumi and his wife were very old people when they taught the Ainu how to cut down trees, and that this is the last act Okikurumi did among the Ainu, for both he and his wife ascended to heaven riding upon the sound of a falling tree and enveloped in fire. In fact, I am told that the act here recorded took place after Okikurumi's death, but that he was sent down from heaven with the express purpose of assisting the Ainu to fell a "metal pine tree," and, having accomplished this work, he returned thither. It is a curious legend, and I confess that I cannot quite understand its drift; however, I will record it here as another specimen of curious Ainu folk-lore.

KAORI.*

- | | | |
|----------------------|-------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Samoro moshiri | kaori | 1. At the head of Japan there |
| moshiri peketa | " | was a metal pine tree. |
| kani shungu | " | |
| ash ruwe ne | " | |
| 2. Kamui kouwekarapa | kaori | 2. Now, the ancients, both noble |
| nupuru kamui | " | and ignoble, came together |
| nupan kamui | " | and broke and bent their |
| emush koreuba | " | swords (upon that tree). |
| emush kokekke | " | |
| shir'an awa. | " | |
| 3. Nowenohikko | kaori | 3. Then there came a very old |
| nowenpakko | " | man and a very old woman |
| utura ine | " | upon the scene. |
| ariki. | " | |

* *Kaori* is the tune or tone of voice in which this legend is recited.

- | | | |
|-------------------|-------|-----------------------------------|
| 4. Nowenchikko | kaori | 4. The old man had a useless old |
| wen kamanata | " | axe in his girdle, and the old |
| shitomushi | " | woman a useless old reaping |
| nowenpakko | " | hook. |
| wën iyokbe | " | |
| shitomushi | " | |
| 5. Kamui utara | kaori | 5. So they caused the ancients to |
| euminare | " | laugh at them. |
| 6. Kamui katap ne | kaori | 6. Even the ancients were unable |
| kan' niukeshbe | " | to cut down the tree, so they |
| nowenchikko | " | said: "Old man and old woman, |
| nowenpakko | " | what have you come hither to |
| hemanda | " | do?" |
| kara gusu | " | |
| ariki | " | |
| kamui utara | " | |
| itak awa. | " | |
| 7. Nowenchikko | kaori | 7. The old man said:—"We |
| ene itak-hi | " | have only come that we may |
| ingara poka | " | see." |
| aki gusu | " | |
| ariki an awa. | " | |
| 8. Itak-tek koro | kaori | 8. As the old man said this he |
| wen kamanata | " | drew his useless old axe and |
| shiko-etaye | " | striking the metal pine tree |
| kani shungu | " | cut a little way into it. |
| taugi awa | " | |
| pon no ouguru | " | |
| 9. Nowenpakko | kaori | 9. And the old woman, drawing |
| wen iyokbe | " | her useless old reaping hook, |
| shiko-etaye | " | struck the tree and cut it |
| taugi awa | " | through. |
| oattuye. | " | |
| 10. Horak hum | kaori | 10. There was a mighty crash; |
| konna, | " | the earth trembled with the |
| turimimse | " | fall. |

- | | | |
|-----------------|-------|--------------------------------|
| 11. Nowenchikko | kaori | 11. Then the old man and woman |
| Nowenpakko | " | passed up upon the sound |
| humrikikatta | " | thereof, and a fire was seen |
| ouhuye shirika | " | upon their sword-scabbards. |
| kari shiri. | " | |
| 12. Kamui utan | kaori | 12. The ancients saw this and |
| nukara, | " | greatly wondered, and then |
| oro oyachiki | " | they understood that it was |
| Okikurumi | " | Okikurumi and his wife. |
| uturesh-koro | " | |
| ne rok okai. | " | |

NOTES.

Verses 1, 2. The words I have translated by "at the head of Japan," are, in Ainu: *Samoro moshiri*, *moshiri puketa*, and this means "at the north" or "north-eastern" or "eastern end of the island of Nippon." *Samoro moshiri* is never used to designate Yezo.

"Metal pine tree" rather indicates that the pine trees were very beautiful rather than that they were really made of metal. The word *kani*, "metal," was often used in ancient times to express a thing of beauty. Thus:—*Kani pon kasa*, "a pretty hat;" *kani chisei*, "a magnificent house;" *kani to*, "a beautiful lake;" *kani nitai*, "a delightful forest," and so on. However, verse 2 shows us that not beauty only is indicated here, but also hardness; for the ancients bent and broke their "swords" (the Ainu had no axes) in trying to fell this "metal pine tree." The word I have translated by "ancients" is, in Ainu, *Kamui*, which is a term applied to the gods, but the words *nupuru* and *nupan*, "noble and ignoble," or "high and low," show that men are here intended.

For a discussion of the term *kamui* see Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, vol. xvi, pt. i, page 17 *et seq.*

Verse 3. The words *nowenchikko* and *nowenpakko* are terms applied only to Japanese of very ripe old age. *Chikko* and *bakko* are said to be ancient Japanese words meaning respectively, "old man" and "old woman."

Verses 4-7. The ancients had been working hard to fell that tree, therefore they thought it ridiculous that such an old couple with such poor tools should come to try their hand. Say they:—"Old man and old woman, what have you come hither to do?" "Merely to look at you," says the old man; "we have only come that we may see." The old gentleman appears to have been a little sarcastic, for verses eight to eleven say that he struck the tree with his useless old axe and made

a little cut in it, and that the old woman gave it a blow with her useless old reaping hook, and the tree fell with a mighty crash, so that the earth trembled with the fall thereof; and, with the sound of the mighty crash, and in a cloud of fire they both accended to heaven. Then, says verse eleven, the Ainu understood that the old man and woman were no other than Yoshitsune and his wife! So ends the legend.

It may be asked, "who was Okikurumi's (Yoshitsune's) wife?" This question I will dismiss by merely saying that I do not know. Possibly we may be able to learn in the near future. I have heard, however, that he married an Ainu woman called "Turesh Machi," but this only means "the younger daughter of a house." We can produce no positive evidence showing who she may have been.

The moral the Ainu teach from this legend is:—"Let not the younger laugh at the elder, for even the very old people can teach their juniors a great deal, even in so simple a matter as felling trees."

VII. POIYAUMBE.*

If any student of philology is desirous of seeing what the ancient language of the Ainu was really like, he may surely find it in the text of this tradition. Many of the words here used are never heard now excepting in the like traditions and legends, and most of the younger Ainu can neither explain nor understand such language unless they are first specially taught it by their elders. It really requires much patient toil and study to grasp the peculiar meaning of the words, and still more to understand the drift of certain allusions and idiomatic phrases, especially as many of them either have already become or are fast becoming obsolete.

I have seen the following tradition listened to by old men full of years with wrapt attention. And indeed, I hardly wonder at it, for it is an exciting tale, full of pathos and graphic description, but it loses much of its beauty by being translated.

* *Poiyaumbe* is the name of the subejot and means "the brave Ainu."

In order that it may be the better understood as it is being read to you, I would ask you kindly to bear the following few remarks in mind.

1. *Poiyaumbe* may be taken to mean "ancient Ainu warriors."

2. The *deer* which will be brought before your notice are human beings, inhabitants of a place called *Samatuye*. They have come to fight the Ainu. The speckled buck is their chief and the speckled doe is the chief's wife. The man leads the men, and the woman the women. Women as well as men used to fight.

3. These *Samatuye* people are said to have been a very warlike race. They travelled far and wide in search of conquest and fame. They used to travel and fight in the air, and could assume the forms of different kind of animals. Thus they came in the form of deer to wage war with the Ainu.

4. As soon as the battle is commenced, they assume their proper form and carry on the fight in the air.

5. But the Ainu warriors could also mount upon the clouds and fight; hence, the *Poiyaumbe* here brought before our notice was able to travel through the air to *Samatuye* and so carry the war into the very camp of the enemy.

I will now give the tradition, reserving all further notes and comments till the end.

POIYAUMBE.

1. Chisei ta turesh, akoro yupi
eren a ne wa ramma-kane okan
ruwe ne.

2. Shine anchikara mokoro poka
iki aetoranne an an awa, ingar'an
humi hene ya, wendarap an humi
hene ya, aeramushkare.

3. Akoro petpo, pet turashi,
ingar'an ike, pet etokushbe kamui
nupuri, kamui shikuma kata apka

POIYAUMBE.

1. We three, my younger sister,
my elder brother and I, were always
together.

2. One night I was quite unable
to sleep, but whether what I now
relate was seen in a dream or
whether it really took place I do
not know.

3. Now I saw upon the tops of
the mountains which lie towards
the source of our river a great herd

topaha shinnai kane ; topa atpake poro shiapka ushiush apka, kirau ne yakka ushiush ki ruwe ne. Mommambe topa atpata ushiush momambe topa atpa etereke kane anukan' ruwe ne. Tambe gusu, shotki kata aki hopuni, uwok kane, earasaine no atumamkosaye ; kasa kasa-rantupet ayaikoyupu, kinatuye hoshi ayaipoki-shiri karakara kane, kani shutu keire aureechiu, kamui rangetam akutpokichiu, tarush ikayup atek-sayekare, karimba unku ku-num noshike atek-sayekare aki, soyoshima.

4. Pet turashi ru an toi ka wa hopuni, rera iyorikikuru puni kane ouse nishka ahopuni arapa an awa ; akoro yupi chisei ta turesh iseturu ka yairarire ki rok okai.

5. Paye an awa ; kamui shikuma kata, soon no poka apka topa shinnai kane, topa atpata ushiush apka kirau ne yakka ushiushbe ne ruwe ne ; momambe topa, topa atpata ushiush momambe chiterekere ki ruwe ne.

6. Tata orota, push shikorui

of male deer feeding by themselves. At the head of this great herd there was a very large speckled buck ; even its horns were speckled. At the head of the herd of female deer there was a speckled doe skipping about in front of its fellows. So I sat up in my bed, buckled my belt, winding it once round my body, and tied my hat strings under my chin ; I then fastened my leggings, made of grass, to my legs, slipped on my best boots, stuck my favorite sword in my girdle, took my quiver sling in my hand, seized my bow, which was made of yew and ornamented with cherry bark, by the middle, and sallied forth.

4. The dust upon the road by the river-side was flying about ; I was taken up by the wind and really seemed to go along upon the clouds. Now, my elder brother and younger sister were coming along behind me.

5. And as we went along, in truth, we saw that the mighty mountains were covered with great herds of bucks and does ; the bucks had a speckled male at their head, even its horns were speckled ; there was also a speckled female deer skipping about at the head of the does.

6. On coming near them, I took

hewe an kane, tap orowa no apka
topa, topa ikiri orosama ai-eroshki,
ne-i korachi shikuma kata apka
topa ipatoye chiuchiubare. Mo-
mambe topa akoro yupi orosama
ai-uiruge, ne-i korachi momambe
topa yaemoshkara sama kane,
irukai tomta apka topa aukettektek ;
momambe topa aukettektek. Rapo-
keketa, uhunak yuk ne rok be, ainu
pito an nangora ? airamushkare.

7. Araka itak eashinge ene okai-
i :—" *Poiyaumbe* eposo gusu kon-
rametok, tu moshiri ika re moshiri
ika assuru ash guru e ne wa gusu,
hokamgin no chishimemokka aeka-
rakara gusu, ek an awa ; autarihi-
po chiko-okere iyekarakara ki abe
gusu, e an-rapoki akari kuni eramu
gusu, e konrametok neun hene newa
ne yakka e an-rapoki akari anak
ne shomo ki nangoro."

8. Pakno nekoru, shisak utarapa
tem ka honna shikayekaye, yupke
tamkuru ikoterekere an no ikippo,
aemondasa ashinuma ka atem ka
konna shikayekaye, yupke tamkuru
akoterekere iki an ita, tam ok humi
oara isam. Aekotpokba ewen kane,
ashinuma ka a emush, emush kane

an arrow out of my quiver and shot
into the very thickest of the herd, so
that the mountains became covered
with the multitude of those which
had tasted poison (i. e. which had
been bit with poisoned arrows).
And, my elder brother shooting
into the thickest of the herd of does,
killed so many that the grass was
completely covered with their
bodies; within a very short time the
whole herd, both of bucks and does
was slain. How was it that that
which but a short time since was a
deer became a man ? That I cannot
tell.

7. With angry words he said to
me :—" Because you are a brave
Poiyaumbe and your fame has
spread over many lands, you have
come hither with the purpose of
picking a quarrel with me. Thus
then, you see that you have slain
my friends and you doubtless think
you can defeat me, but however
brave you may be, I think you
will probably find that you are
mistaken."

8. When he had spoken so much,
this lordly person drew his sword
with a flash and struck at me with
powerful strokes ; in return I also
flashed out my sword, but when I hit
at him with mighty blows there was
no corresponding crashing sound.
It was extremely difficult to come

etu peken rera ne. Ayaikara kane ekotpoka ewen kane ki rok ine, itui-pa katu aerampeutekbe iki a koroka, atuman-kashi wen kempa na kohopuni, wen ainu nitne shinuma ne yakka tuman-kashike wen kempa na kohopuni :

9. Rapokeketa, chisei ta turesh akoro yupi etun ne ine ushiush momambe uwetunangara ; tun kane tam sep ukohopuni shiri ki. Aine, kimatek kata iki, koroka iki, ingar' an ike, akoro yupi arasereke aikne tuye moshiri shokata tek-kuwapo koechararase shiri ki ita ; yupke tamkuru akoterekere, tup ne rep ne ausatuye iki an ita, shichup kata shiknu pito ne. Hum erikikuru puni kane, hontomota kando koto-ro orun utasa tam sep serekosamba. Eara utoro un etuyesere hum serekosamba inu an gusu, chisei ta turesh shichup kata inotu oroge hopuni hum ko keurototke.

10. Tata orota wen shiwentep wen repun mat yayoparase-chiure kane, moshiri shokata horaochiuwe. Tap orowa no shiwentep etun otutam iworo ore-tam iworo iyeterekere iki an aine, wen shiwentep tup ne rep ne ausa-tuye, shichup kata

upon him; it was as though the wind caught the point of my sword. Though this was the case, though it was difficult to strike him, and though I did not realize that I was struck, yet much blood spurted out of my body. That abominable, bad man was also bleeding profusely.

9. Whilst things were going on in this way, my elder brother and younger sister met with the speckled doe, and both attacked it with drawn swords. With great fear they fought; and, when I looked, I saw that my elder brother was cut in twain; as he fell, he put out his hands and raised himself from the earth. I then drew my sword and cut him twice or thrice, so that he became a living man again. Then riding upon a sound like thunder, he quickly ascended to the skies and again engaged in the fight. I now heard a sound as of another person being slain elsewhere: it was my younger sister who was killed. With a great sound she rode upon the sun (i. e. she died with a groan).

10. Upon this the bad foreign woman boasted and said that she had slain my younger sister and thrown her to the earth. Then, the two, the woman and man, fell upon me with all their might and main, but I struck the bad woman

hum erikikuru tesu kane, shiknu kamui ne hum erikikuru tesu kane, okaketa wen ainu nitne ikoyaisana sange kane kurukashike itak oma-re, ene okai-i:—

11. "Poiyaumbe eposo gusu, ekonrametok tu assuru oroge hopuni awa; e iki ap gusu, akoro kotan reihe koro katu Samatuye kotan ne ruwe ne. Akoro akihi akoro turesh tun ne ine chashi shikkashima, kamui otta ka konrametok aihunara akoro akihi ne ruwe ne na. Sekoro an gusu eiraige yakka akoro akihi ikemnu yak ne po ishiknupo e ki nangora, eyaikoshunge e ki nangon na."

12. Hontomota wen ainu nitne homaretara atuye humi aeramu an. Tasa tamkuri yainutumnu ohon no ne ya setak no ne ya ayainutumnu. Orosama, akoyaishikarun; ingar' an gusu, ashkai samma amut-emushi aekurukashike tamun-tamun; aikap sama moshiri ka ushbe a wa kina ayaiekap, shinrit kata akoo-pentari.

13. Orosama, koyaishikarun aki ruwe ne. Ayaikoshiramshuye ike; neita an kotan reihe koro kuni Samatuye kotan ne wa gusu, chishitomare aiyekarakara ki have ne koro, tukarikehe ahoshipi yak anak ne chi-emina ayekekarakara ki

twice or thrice so that she rode upon the sun: she went to the sun a living soul. Then the bad, malignant man, being left alone, spoke thus:—

11. "Because you are a *Poiyaumbe* and the fame of your bravery has spread over many countries, and because you have done this, know ye that the place where I live is called *Samatuye*. The two, my younger brother and sister, are the defenders of my house, and they are exceedingly brave. Thus then, if I am slain by you, my younger brother will avenge my death and you will live no longer. You must be careful."

12. Now I made a cut at that bad, malignant man, but he returned the blow, and I swooned. Whether the swoon lasted for a long space or a short, I know not. But when I opened my eyes I found my right hand stretched out above me and striking hither and thither with the sword, and with the left I was seizing the grass and tearing it up by the roots.

13. So I came to myself. And, I wondered where *Samatuye* could be, and why it was so called. I thought that name was given to the place to frighten me, and I considered that if I did not pay it a visit I should be laughed at when

humih, oturai sambe aekotekara.

I returned home, and thus feel humiliated.

14. Tambe gusu, ingar' an ike, tan inne topa ariki ruwe, ru kurukashi aehopuni, inne kotan, kotan upsoro koyaiterekere. Tap an topa ru kurukashike ehopuni arapan aine, tokap rere ko, kunne rere ko, chi-ukopishke no iwan rere ko, arapa an goro, atui-teksama aiyosange. Inne kotan chi-shiri anu.

14. Therefore I looked up and discovered the track by which this multitude of persons had come; I ascended to the path and passed very many towns and villages. And I travelled along this path for three days and three nights, in all six days, till I came down upon the sea-shore; here I saw many towns and villages.

15. Tap an ekaye-chish kando koto-ro ko-yairikikuru puni kane, kurukashike kamui kot chashi chi-oushi kara, chashi tap ka nishpa turembe kuni chi-shiri ko-noye kane shiran chiki, chashi teksam aiyorange; chisei sam kata humi mo. apkash akourepentok noye kane; puyara otbe akakoturi sepka uturu ashikposare. Ingar'an ike, abe etok ta pon ainu pon guru abe tek sam koisamkokka eshitchiure, hoka noshike koenitomum, oharakiso un pon shiwentep an nangora, aeramushkare.

15. Here there was a very tall mountain whose top extended even into the skies; upon its summit was a beautiful house, and above this circled a great cloud of fog. I descended by the side of the house, and stealthily walking along with noiseless steps, peeped in between the cracks of the door and listened. I saw something like a very little man sitting cross-legged at the head of the fire-place staring into the fire, and I saw something like a little woman sitting on the left-hand side of the fire-place.

16. Tap eashiri, chisei ta turesh eturu pak nanga yaikoropare hum shiwentep okai ruwe ne. Tata orota pon ainu pon guru ene itakhi:—"Koingara gusu, akot turesh itak an chiki pirika no nu yan. Tan anchikatta kamui kuroro yaikar'humi aiyamokte ki ruwe ne na.

16. Here again was a woman who in beauty equalled my younger sister. Now, the little man spake thus:—"Oh, my younger sister, listen to me, for I have a word to say. The weather is clouding over, and I am filled with anticipation. You know, you have been

Koingara gusu ochiu tusure kinin tusure, pon ram orowa no e ki rok a na. Kekonhetak tusu wa en kore yan, kusu hum ashbe anu gusu ne na."

17. Sekoro kane, pon ainu pon guru itak rok awa, pon shiwentep tu pase maushok yaierarapa ki rok ine, ene itak-i:—"Akoro yupi pon akoro yupi itak an chiki, pirika no nu yan. Nep irenga koro akoro yupih i ki katuhu ene ani, tuima kane assuru anup; *Tomî-sampet* shinutap kashi koassuru ashbe. *Poiyaumbe* kamui konrametok iki aige, motoho sak no po chishimemokka akoro yupih i ekarakara gusu *Poiyaumbe* shine okkayo iki yakka akoro yupih i utat'tura no wen toi kando akokirukara ki ruwe ne. Ki rok okai rapokeketa, ya un guru moshiri orowa no pon kesorap kando koto ro chikurure; kotusuyupu aki kush ne koroka, makan ne ko ene terekehe auwe-raye. Atui shokata atui chikoikip pon chikoikip kambekuruka koechararase, akoro kotan attom sama yaye ushi pak no ne koro rep un guru muttam, ya un guru muttam

a prophet from a child. Just prophesy to me, for I desire to hear of the future."

17. Thus spake the little man. Then the little woman gave two great yawns and said:—"My elder brother, my little elder brother, listen to me for I have a word to say. Wherefore is my brother thus in anticipation? I hear news from a distant land; there is news coming from above the mountains of *Tomisan pet*!¹ The brave *Poiyaumbe* have been attacked by my elder brother without cause, but a single man has annihilated my brother and his men. Whilst the battle proceeds a little *Kesorap*² comes flying across the sky from the interior; and, though I earnestly desire to prophesy about it, somehow or other it passes out of my sight. When it crosses the sea it darts along upon the surface of the water like a little fish; coming straight towards our town is the clashing of swords, the sword of a *Ya un*³ man and a *Rep un*⁴ man;

¹ *Tomisan pet* is the name of a river said to be about a day's journey further up the West coast of Yezo than Ishkari.

² *Kesorap* is said by some Ainu to be a peacock, and by others a kind of eagle. Here, however, it signifies the victorious Ainu now on his way to destroy *Samatuye*.

³ *Ya un*, "Ainu." ⁴ *Rep un*, the enemy of the Ainu.

uwatnikoro eshishuye, tu kem shui oro akushpare shiri ki aine, rep un guru muttam abun chup pok akotureyenu, ya un guru muttam pinne shikihi shi-chup kata tonnata ki-bi anak ne, ayai-komorep akot chashi iki a yakka, akoro chashi uwoma kunip shomo tap an na. Pak no ne koro ashik etoho ushikosamba ki ruwe ne na. Pirika no nu yan."

18. Hawash chiki, tanebo ekbe ashikopayara chisei samkata nishite toi oro aput'toi kunne aure poketa ush kane, apa orutbe kaishitapka terekere. Mindara kuruka koaoshma aki rok awa, apa tuika un shine ikinne ikohosari ki rok awa, nep kamui nukan rokbe kat un kuni itukarige koshik etumba, harikiso sam niwen chinika aikoturi.

19. Pon ainu pon guru eshisho un wa aureierutu abe hetok ne-hi akoisam kokkae a eshitchiure, kurukashike aita omare ene okaihi:—"Koiagara gusu, *Samatuye un guru* pon ainu pon guru itak an chiki, pirika no nu yan. Nep rametok akoro wa gusu hange rep un guru tuima rep un guru chieuramtekuk iyekarakara ki rok gusu, *Samatuye un guru* e koro yupi moto sak no po chishimemokka iyekarakara, tap ambe ne ya?

blood is spurting forth from two great wounds; the sword of the *Rep un* man goes into the setting sun and is lost; the handle of the sword of the *Ya un* man shines upon the sun. Although our house was in peace it is now in danger. In speaking thus much my eyes become darkened. Pay attention to what I have said."

18. As she said this, I pretended that I had but now arrived, and knocking the dirt off my boots upon the hard soil just outside the house, I lifted the door-screen over my shoulders and stepped inside. They both turned round and looked at me with one accord; with fear they gazed at me from under their eye-brows. Then I walked along the left-hand side of the fireplace with hasty strides.

19. I swept the little man to the right-hand side of the fireplace with my foot, and, sitting myself cross-legged at the head thereof, spake thus:—"Look here, little *Samatuye* man, I have a word to say: attend well to me. Why has your elder brother, the *Samatuye* man, attacked us without reason? Has he not done so? As you have stirred up this war without reason you will be punished by the gods, you will be annihilated. Listen to

Tap an tumunchi moto sak no po echi kip ne gusu, kamui orowa no tumunchi seremak akopak guru anak chi-annu-raige aekarakan nangoro; pirika no nu yan. Eepaketa nikap ainu a ne yakka iki, e koro kotan wen toi kando akokiru nangoro; pirika no nu yan."

20. Pak no ne koro atemka konna shikayekaye, yupke tamkuru akoterekere iki an awa; peken rera ne, chisei kan koto-ro kohopuni. Tap orowa no chisei pan nok chisei pen nok koyaikirare; rapoketa puyara otta apa otta nep eupak kunip ainu ne manu apatui kata ukata tereke. Puyara otta Ainu ne manu kikiri pasushke ek an na yukara; apatui kata ahun wa ambe kina otuye aekarakara.

21. Rapokeketa, pon shiwentep ene itak-hi:—"Akoro yupuhi nep burihi echi koro katuhu ene a anihi moto sak no po *Poiyaumbe* ne ap gusu ki rusuibe, rai ne heki ki wa gusu moto sak no po chi-shime-mokka echi ekarakara gusu, *Poiyaumbe* aramaukese ayaio-aye ki nangon na. Pirika no nu yan."

22. Pon shiwentep itak keseta upshoro konna serikosamba; tap orowa no apatui kata ahun wa

what I say. Besides, although I am a wounded man, I will overthrow your town. Listen to what I say!"

20. And when I had said so much, I drew my sword and flashed it about. I struck at him with such blows that the wind whistled. We ascended to the ceiling fighting, and here I chased him from one end of the house to the other. Whilst this was going on, a very great multitude of men congregated upon the threshold. They were as thick as swarms of flies; so I cut them down like men mow grass.

21. Whilst this was going on, the little woman said:—"Oh my brothers, why did ye commit such a fault as to attack the *Poiyaumbe* without cause? Was it that ye desired to slay those who had no desire to die that ye fell upon them? Henceforth I shall cast in my lot with the *Poiyaumbe*. Listen to my words."

22. When the little woman had thus spoken, she drew a dagger from her bosom and cut down the

ambe, kina otuye ekarakan ruwe ne ; shine ikinne shine tam ani aki ruwe ne.

23. Shiri ki aine, usoinapashte aki ruwe ne. Ingar'an ike, moyo no utara chi-shire anu, utara seremak ta Samatuye un guru poneune hike, utara seremak ne yaikara kane; irukai nekoro, moyo no utara aukettektek. Okake an goro, *Samatuye un guru* niwen chinika akoturi kurukashike akotam etaye, yupke tamkuru akoterekere. *Samatuye un mat* iteksam peka koro yupihi yupke tamkuru koterekere.

24. Irukai ne koro, tup ne rep ne ausatuye inotu oroge hopuni hum kuru keurototke. Okaketa, Pon shiwentep tu chish wenbe yaiyekote, kurukashike itak omare ene okai-hi:—"Ashinuma anak aoyane nep, ara apaha sak guru kurukashike tam rarire ne wa gusu; *Poiyaumbe* ponyattuibo ikokararase ne no poka eara maukese ayaiturare ki ruwe ne na. Pirika no nu yan."

men at the door like grass; we fought side by side.

23. Fighting so, we drove them out of the house. And, when we looked at them there were but a few left, but behind them stood the little *Samatuye* man; yes, he was there. In a very short time those few persons were all killed. After this I went after the *Samatuye* man with hasty strides and drew my sword above him. I struck at him with heavy blows. The *Samatuye* woman also stood by my side and hit at her brother with her dagger.

24. In a short time he received two or three cuts and was slain. After this the little woman wept very much and spake, saying, "As for me, I am undone. I did not desire to draw my dagger against a man without friends. As the little hawks flock together where there is food, so have I an earnest desire to be with thee, O *Poiyaumbe*! Listen to what I say."

NOTES.

1. *Poiyaumbe*. I have come to the conclusion that this word is most probably meant to designate the ancient Ainu, for, *ya un guru* is the word by which the Ainu used to distinguish themselves from foreigners, whom they called *Rep un guru*. *Ya un guru* means, "persons residing on the soil, or "natives." *Rep un guru* means, "persons of the sea;" or "persons residing beyond

the seas;" or "Islanders." Thus *Poiyaumbe* signifies, "little beings residing on the soil;" for the word may be divided in this way: *Poi* or *pon*, "little;" *ya*, "land," "soil;" *un*, locative particle; *pe* "things," "being," "persons." *Pon*, however, should not be taken in this instance to really mean "small" or "little," but it is intended to express endearment or admiration, and may in this case be conveniently translated by "brave;" thus the word comes to mean "the brave Ainu." Persons who especially bore this name were the brave warriors of the Ainu race, what we should probably call the heroes of the people.

2. Sections *one* to *five* need no comment from me; I will therefore pass them over, merely saying that such minute and graphic description is common among the Ainu.

3. Section *six* asks:—"How was it that that which but a short time ago was a deer became a man? That I cannot tell." It was now for the first time that the Ainu discovered the deer to be human beings. They now assumed their proper form and were found to be enemies come to pick a quarrel and fight.

4. Section *seven* contains the challenge to fight. Here we see that the speckled buck, now turned into a man, accuses the Ainu of slaying his comrades. He seeks some ground of quarrel and attempts to shift the real cause of the war from his own shoulders to those of the Ainu, when, in truth, he himself had invaded the land. "You have slain my friends," says he. Then out flash the swords and the duel is fought with vigour and warmth.

5. In this section we have also an intimation that the Ainu was of great fame; his "fame had spread over many lands." What lands these were I cannot learn. Some tell me that the Ainu sailed in their boats to Manchuria and crossed the ice to Siberia, and there waged war and traded.

6. Section *nine* tells us of the fight between the foreigner's wife and the Ainu's brother and sister, both of whom were slain by her. The brother was cut in twain, but the *Poiyaumbe* went and struck him twice or thrice with his sword, which, it is said, brought him back to life! This is a very curious statement, but it is said that the Ainu once had the power of bringing persons back to life by cutting them with their swords. To this very day they have a custom of drawing their swords over a sick person and making a pretence of cutting him or her to pieces. This is supposed to have great efficacy in healing and restoring to life! The Ainu say that they have lost the power of restoring slain comrades to life by the sword, and this is the reason they have now given up fighting! In this section we have also an intimation of how the Ainu used to speak of life and death. The Ainu's sister rode upon the sun; i.e. she died. Death is riding upon the setting sun, and life is riding upon the rising sun, or a shining like the sun! This is a curious thing. What the underlying thought may be I will leave you to imagine.

7. Section *ten* tells us of the death of the doe, who had become a woman: her body was left, but her living soul travelled to the sun, i.e. she was slain.

8. Sections *ten* and *eleven* intimate that the antagonist of the Ainu was beginning to fear. He therefore threatens him with the vengeance of his brother and sister; he also tells him that the name of his country is *Samatuye*. Where *Samatuye* may be I cannot find out. *Samatuye* means, "to be cut in twain;" but it is said to be the name of a place or country.

9. Section *fourteen*. The path by which the enemy had come was in the air, and the Ainu followed it up till he came to the country called *Samatuye*. Here, the *fifteenth* section says, was an exceedingly high mountain, upon whose summit was built the chief's palace; at its foot was the capital city. Again the Ainu ascends to the air and comes stealthily to the door of the palace; he sees the brother and sister of his enemy and listens to their conversation. What he overheard is recorded in the *sixteenth* and *seventeenth* section.

10. Sections *sixteen* to *eighteen*. The sister was a prophetess. There are still prophets and prophetesses amongst the Ainu, but their chief duty now is to tell the causes of illness, to prescribe medicines, to charm away sickness, and to make known the ultimate result, i.e. to tell whether a person will die or get well again. When a person prophesies he or she is supposed to sleep or otherwise lose consciousness, the spirit of prophecy or divination is thought to enter into the heart of the prophet, so that the subject merely becomes a tool or mouth-piece of the gods. The prophet is not even supposed to know what he himself says, and often the listeners do not understand what his words portend. When in the act of prophesying the prophet is in a fearful tremble; he generally breathes very hard and drops of perspiration stand upon his brow. Though his eyes should be open they have, for the time being, lost all power of sight. He sees nothing but with the mind. Everything he sees, whether relating to the past, present or future, is spoken of in the present tense. This spirit of prophecy is quite believed in by the people, and the prophet or prophetess is often resorted to. But curiously enough, no person can prophesy just when he or she pleases: he must wait till the spirit seizes him. Nor is a good drink of wine always needed, but contemplation and prayer are absolute necessities. The burden of prophecy sometimes comes out in jerks, but more often in a kind of sing-song monotone.

11. I have witnessed a prophet prophesying, and, truly, I think it would be difficult to find a more solemn scene. Absolute silence was observed by the people who were congregated together: no voice was to be heard but that of the prophet. Old men with grey beards sat there with tears in their eyes, silent and solemn; attentively were they listening to what was being said. The prophet appeared to be quite carried away with his subject, for he was beating himself with his hands. When he had finished, he opened his eyes and, for a moment, they looked wild and shone like fire; but exhaustion soon came over him. But to return.

12. Section *seventeen*. This section contains the woman's prophecy. She sees the fight beyond the Ishikari river. She beholds her brother and his hosts slain

in battle. She sees the conquering hero, the Ainu, come flitting across the skies like a little bird. He darts along upon the seas like a fish skimming the surface of the water. She hears the clashing sound of swords coming straight towards their own city and palace. They are Ainu and *Samatuye* men that she sees. The Ainu, says she, is wounded. The sword of the *Samatuye* man, her brother, goes into the setting sun, i.e. he dies. The sword of the Ainu shines upon the sun, i.e. he conquers. And, lastly, she sees that the very house in which they are is in danger; and, no wonder, for the Ainu is at the very door listening. Then, say sections eighteen and nineteen, in walks the Ainu and challenges the brother to fight.

13. Sections *nineteen to end* tell us the result of this fight. The woman casts in her lot with the Ainu. She assists him in the fight. The *Samatuye* men are all slain, and the woman becomes the Ainu's wife! So ends this tradition.

AROUND THE HOKKAIDO.

By C. S. MEIK, C. E.

[*Read 14th March, 1888.*]

In the following paper there will doubtless be found a considerable amount of matter familiar to those who have read the paper contributed by Capt. Blakiston to the Royal Geographical Society in 1872 and the letters of the same gentleman to the *Japan Mail* some few years since. At the same time, while I have found it unavoidable to repeat some of the information supplied by Capt. Blakiston, I trust there will be found some fresh matter in this paper which will be of interest and assist in arriving at a more correct opinion of the capabilities of the Hokkaidō than has hitherto been the case.

I may say that the object of my tour round the island was with the view of advising the Government as to the most suitable sites for the construction of harbours for the better development of the trade of the island.

On my arrival in Japan in June of last year, I was fortunate enough to obtain as my colleague Mr. N. Fukushi of the survey department of the Hokkaido, a gentleman who is not only intimately acquainted with the geography of the country, but who also had the additional advantage of having accompanied Capt. Blakiston in some of his travels.

Our party, consisting of Mr. Fukushi, an engineering assistant and myself, left Sapporo on the 10th July, and proceeding by way of the road from there to Mororan, reached Tomakomai on the south coast on the evening of the same day.

This road is one of the very few in the Hokkaidō suitable for

wheeled traffic, and with the exception of one or two short lengths in the vicinity of Nemuro, no others of the same description were met with during our trip. Shortly after leaving Sapporo the road passes through deposits of volcanic ash and pumice, which render the ground quite unfit for farming operations, although trees seem to thrive fairly well upon it. Further on, in the neighbourhood of Chitose (Stocey), the ground appears to improve, and small lots near the road are under cultivation principally with root crops. In this neighbourhood some few years since deer were plentiful; now they are hardly ever seen, and the deer canning factory at Bibi has been closed for some time.

From Tomakomai eastward the road—or rather horse-track—follows the coast line, and passing through the villages of Yubutsu, Magawa and Sarubetsu, the small town of Shitsunai is reached, which place is well situated in a valley close to the mouth of the Shibichari river and possesses good accommodation for travellers. The occupation of the inhabitants along this district is fishing, both for salmon and sardines, the latter being all made into manure and shipped to the south for the rice-fields. The mouths of the rivers along this coast have a striking peculiarity: they all run parallel to the shore in a westerly direction before finding an exit to the sea. This is due to the sand drifting along the coast from east to west, owing to the prevailing winds coming from the east to south-east, and also perhaps to the tidal current setting to the westward close in shore. This action I will refer to further on when describing the north-east coast, where it is even more marked. At Sambutsu the first Aino population of any importance is met with, but they are apparently being rapidly mixed with the Japanese race, the number of half-castes being very noticeable. The country round about here appears to be very fertile, the small areas that are cultivated near the villages raising good crops. Horses are bred here in numbers, and as the winters in this district are not so severe as elsewhere in the island, they can generally subsist throughout the winter on the bamboo grass which grows luxuriantly and which they appear to relish. The quality of these animals is very inferior, however, chiefly owing to the want of proper regulations during the breeding seasons. After leaving Shitsunai, Urakawa is the next place of importance reached. Here there is a considerable population during the fishing and sea-weed

seasons, but after these are over the town loses more than one-half its inhabitants, who return to their homes in the northern end of the main island. The sardine manure harvest is over in the last week in July, being succeeded by that of sea-weed (*kombu*), which generally lasts two months, there being a fixed day for beginning and another for stopping operations, in order, I presume, to ensure the weed being gathered in the best condition. Referring to the sardine manure;—at Urakawa the price last year was about 160 yen per 100 *koku*, that is 42 shillings per ton with the yen at 4 shillings, although the price has been known to rise as high as 400 yen per 100 *koku* or 106 shillings per ton. The smell of these fishes drying in the sun is anything but pleasant to a traveller. As to the sea-weed, enormous quantities are gathered along this coast during the season and exported to the south of Japan and to the Chinese markets. In deep water off this coast the weed sometimes reaches a length of 90 feet and a width of six inches. It is highly nutritious, and not at all unpalatable when eaten with a little *shoyu*. The south coast of the Hokkaidō appears to be the only one in which this weed reaches perfection, although it is met with on the west coast. This is due no doubt to the rocky nature of the coast and to the cold current setting in along the shore from Cape Noshapu to the eastward towards Volcano Bay.

Horoidzumi is the next place of importance after passing Urakawa, and here the population is also to a great extent migratory and the trade much the same as at Urakawa. The road between these two towns was last summer very rough, no less than six separate ranges of hills 500 feet or so in height having to be crossed. A new road has, however, lately been opened along the shore, one or two tunnels having been made through the cliffs overhanging the sea, so that travelling on horseback is now much easier. The old road, though very rough, however, was well worth the extra exertion required, as the scenery was charming, occasional peeps of the sea being obtained from the hill-tops through the trees. The timber in this district is well grown, and in description is much the same as in England—ash, oak, elm, birch, chestnut and numerous others; also *Matsu*, three kinds—*Todo*, *Yezo* and *Shenuku*. Wild flowers grow here, and in fact all round the coasts in profusion—wild roses, lilies, iris and all the descriptions seen at home.

From Horoidzumi the road cuts across the peninsula, terminating at Cape Erimo, and strikes the coast again at Sanoru. A new road has recently been made, so that travelling is now comparatively easy, only a couple of hills 800 to 900 feet high having to be crossed. Fogs are very prevalent along this coast from Erimo to Noshapu Cape during the summer months, and even in July the traveller feels the cold severely when he gets into one. As soon as the coast line is left, however, the heat is sometimes oppressive. Within the distance of a mile from the chilling fogs and east wind of the coast, the magnolia tree is found in full blossom under the shelter of a hill, and the thermometer stands at between 80° and 90° F. in the shade.

Passing through Birō and Birofune, Ohotsunai, at the mouth of the Tokachi river, is reached. This town is situated on the west branch of the river, but owing to the fact that this mouth is frequently blocked up by drifting sand, and also because good drinking water is difficult to obtain, the authorities are thinking of shifting the town to the east mouth, where the river is more likely to remain in its present position, since it is to a certain extent sheltered by a reef of rocks jutting out from the shore and where also good water is plentiful.

The Tokachi is one of the three large rivers of the Hokkaidō, and boats are able to navigate it for 23 *ri* from the sea coast. The land in this valley is of first rate quality, and provided some facilities were given for shipping at or near the river mouth, it would be one of the best districts for settlers in the Hokkaidō. Kushiro, about 18 *ri* to the eastward of the mouth of the Tokachi, is a town of considerable importance, and from its favourable situation is likely to become one of the chief towns of the island. One of the most valuable sulphur deposits in Japan, or perhaps in the world, exists inland from Kushiro at a mountain near Kushiro lake, the quantity of sulphur being for all practical purposes unlimited. Up till quite recently the mineral was carried on pack-horses to a point on the river 17 *ri* from Kushiro, whence it was brought down by boats to the latter place for shipment. A railway has just been opened, however, from the mines to the river, and the river itself has been cleared of obstructions to a moderate extent, so that when a good harbour is constructed at Kushiro the sulphur trade will assume a prominent place in the exports of the Hokkaidō. Coal has

also been discovered close to the town, and is at present used in the small river steamers towing the sulphur boats, and judging from appearances it is of fairly good quality. To the mineral products of this district must be added the exports of fish, fish-manure and sea-weed, and the produce that will arise from the cultivation of the land in the neighbourhood, which is of considerable area and of good quality. Akkechi bay, a few *ri* to the east of Kushiro, is one of the best anchorages on the south coast, the town at the head of the bay being a thriving place and having a first rate tea-house offering good accommodation for travellers. The large lagoon at the head of the bay, called Se-Chiripp, contains a great quantity of large oysters, some of the shells measuring 18 inches long. These oysters are dried, tinned and shipped to the Chinese markets. Hamanaka bay, having a good anchorage under Kiritap island, is a place of some importance and does a considerable export trade in fish and sea-weed. From this the road follows the coast to Hanasaki on the south side of the Noshapu peninsula, with a branch across to the town of Nemuro, the chief town in this part of the island. As I before remarked, fogs are very prevalent all along this coast during the summer, but they seem to excel at Hanasaki bay. During my visit to that place I only once saw the whole of the bay—about one mile wide—and that for the space of two hours only. Hanasaki bay is the port of call for steamers trading to Nemuro during the months of January, February and March, during which period the harbour at Nemuro is blocked up with drift-ice. Nemuro, situated on the north side of the Noshapu peninsula, is a thriving place and has increased in size very much during the last few years. It possesses a small bay or harbour suitable for small coasting craft, and is capable of considerable improvement. All the trade from the adjoining coast and islands concentrates at Nemuro, the value amounting to nearly one million yen annually. Within a few miles of the town a militia settlement has lately been established on the same principle as those existing near Sapporo. The soil here is of good quality, and fair crops can be raised of hemp, potatoes, turnips, daikon, beans and barley. Oats and wheat have not been attempted as yet, but there seems no reason why they should not succeed. In the neighbourhood of Nemuro there is also a large farm of over 9,000 acres enclosed in a ring fence now belonging to a private

gentleman, part of which is being broken up with the plough and part being put under pasture for cattle. Cattle and horse-breeding appears to be attended with success, but sheep-raising has not been tried as yet. This is the only place in the Hokkaidō, excepting the government farms at Nanae and Sapporo, where farming on a large scale has been attempted, and there is no reason to doubt that it will be perfectly successful with proper management. The country about here and in fact all along the peninsula consists of a flat table-land from 50 to 100 feet above sea-level, covered with undergrowth and stunted trees, the east winds and fogs no doubt preventing the latter from attaining large growth. The fogs, however, do not affect the production of cereals and root crops to an appreciable extent, and the climate generally appears to be somewhat similar to that of the east coast of Scotland, where admirable crops are raised in spite of east wind or fogs.

From Nemuro the road follows the shore line to Oneto, where the entrance to a large lagoon has to be crossed by a ferry. Passing on from there, still following the shore line and crossing another lagoon entrance, the Nichibetsu river is reached, where good quarters can be obtained at the small town of Bekkai or Bitsukai. The Nishibetsu is the best salmon river in Japan, although not by any means the largest one. At Bekkai the government established a salmon canning factory some years since under American direction. It is now, however, in private hands and appears to be well managed, although perhaps it would be an improvement to label the tins, not only as a guarantee of the genuineness of the contents, but also as a help for the extension of the trade. From information obtained on the spot, it appears that no less than 15,000 *koku* (2,200 tons) of salmon are annually taken out of the river, together with a considerable quantity from the sea coast in the vicinity. As the traveller proceeds northward along this coast, horses become more difficult to obtain, the quality of the animal begins to deteriorate, and it is a very rare thing to get a horse that has not bad qualities of some kind. Nine out of ten are inveterate stumblers: they will not keep their noses off the ground if they can help it. This is no doubt due to their being chiefly used as pack-horses, in which capacity several are usually tied together, the head of one animal being tied to the tail of the next in front, and so on.

From Bekkai to Shibetsu the road is not of the best description. After a heavy rain it is usually impassable owing to the swampy nature of the ground, and from this cause we were conducted along the sea-beach as being the only passable road. This beach is simply a stinking swamp of decayed vegetable matter and sea-weed, owing to the large amount of fresh water and the absence of tidal currents in the sea, due no doubt to the sheltered position of the locality under Cape Notske. Unless the traveller has a guide well acquainted with the locality, he is very likely to lose his horse, if not himself, in the bog. Under the most favourable circumstances his lot is not a pleasant one in hot weather, with the thermometer at 90° in the shade, innumerable bull flies and mosquitoes, his horses sinking below the knees at every step—all added to the very unhealthy smell arising from the decayed vegetable matter, make the road one to be avoided if possible. After passing the base of the Notske promontory, Shibetsu is reached, situated at the mouth of the river of the same name. On this coast the prevalent winds are from the north-east, and the tidal currents setting in from the same direction cause the sand to drift along the shore to the southward, and thus, as on the south coast, causing the rivers to run parallel to the shore for a considerable distance before entering the sea. At Shibetsu the inhabitants are continually fighting with the river to induce it to go into the sea, to which proceeding it has apparently a decided objection. Occasionally, however, after a heavy downpour of rain or a sudden thaw in the hills, the river itself does in a couple of hours what the natives cannot effect in a year—it makes a new mouth for itself, generally near the point where it first reaches the coast line. This mouth does not remain open long, however, the sand drifting in such large quantities and at such a rapid rate. There is practically no land under cultivation along this coast, the inhabitants subsisting entirely upon the produce of the salmon and herring fisheries, the latter of course being all made into manure. From Shibetsu a new road has lately been made across the Shari hills to Shari on the north-east coast. This road is shorter by 11 *ri* than the old road via Wakaoi, and the whole distance can now be traversed in one day, although there is a horse-station and accommodation for travellers in the heart of the hills at a place called Rubetsu. After leaving the coast at Shibetsu the road

passes through a forest for the whole distance (86 miles) until the sea coast at Shari is reached. There are first of all miles of birch trees, used by the inhabitants on the coast for firewood and for the manufacture of roofing shingles, for which purpose they make use of the bark of the tree after the outer covering has been stripped off. Ropes are also made by the Ainos from the bark of the *Shina*, a kind of ash tree, while stems of the young vine trees are often used for a like purpose. After proceeding further inland larger trees are met with, such as oak, ash, *todo* and *Yezo-matsu*, some of the last named being splendid trees, 51 to 18 feet in circumference and 150 to 200 feet high. The difficulty of transport to the coast, however, is at present so great that this fine timber can not be taken advantage of. In the Shari hills, at about 8 *ri* from Shibetsu, there exist some hot springs and also indications of petroleum, the former sending out a considerable volume of water at a temperature of about 150° Fahr. and having a slight trace of sulphate of iron. The petroleum flows out of the ground in very small quantities close to the stream issuing from the hot springs, and until a proper well is sunk it would be impossible to judge whether it could be obtained in paying quantities. Neither the hot springs nor the petroleum springs are likely to prove of much practical value for some years to come, but the place is well worth a visit by the traveller in the vicinity, although the road after leaving the main track is rough in the extreme. After leaving Rubetsu the road crosses the hills by a pass 1500 feet above the sea-level, and even in August, with the thermometer at 85° F. in the shade, snow is to be seen in the clefts of the mountains at an elevation of about 3000 feet or so. This snow melting under the hot August sun makes the river water delightfully cool, and a bath in it is very refreshing after a hot day's ride, although the bull flies do not suffer the bather to remain long in the free enjoyment of his tub. After passing Shari, which is only a small fishing village, the road follows the coast line to Abashiri, the place of most importance in this section of the coast. The shore along here is entirely formed of sand until Abashiri is reached, where a bold rocky headland juts into the sea. Before reaching this, however, the entrance to a tolerably large lagoon (Tobutsu) is crossed, having in its neighbourhood a few scattered Aino villages. Abashiri is a rising place, having about 330 inhabitants, all more or less engaged in the fishing industry,

although some small portions of land near the town have been cultivated for root crops. A fair anchorage exists under the lee of an island lying off the river's mouth, and the bay, which is sheltered both by this island and to a small extent by Cape Noto, is one of the few localities on this coast capable of being improved into a safe harbour. The river here forms the outlet for a large lake situated inland about $1\frac{1}{2}$ *ri*. It is well wooded all round with all kinds of trees, some of them being oak of large dimensions. The depth of this lake varies from 18 to 28 feet, and the water is apparently of a high temperature—higher indeed than is due to the heat of the atmosphere. From the head of this lake a horse-track exists across the mountains to the south coast at Kushiro. From Abashiri the road passes through Tokoro on to Saruma lagoon, but in order to save time we avoided this road and proceeded by sea in a fishing boat. This did not turn out a success, however, as the boat only progressed at two miles per hour almost the whole distance to Saruma, there being no favourable wind. Fishing boats on this coast do not differ materially from those in use elsewhere in the north of Japan, but in any case the principle on which they are built and the manner in which they are propelled are not to be commended. In shape they are not unlike a coffin with a sharp end, and the oars are like crutches about six feet long, the latter being tied to the thwart of the boat near the bow by short pieces of grass rope. The boat is steered by two long sweeps at the stem, and these are also occasionally used in assisting the rowers. As to their sailing qualities, the less said the better. Owing to the shape of the boat and to the position of the sail they will do little else than run before the wind: beating to windward is quite out of the question. No doubt they have their good qualities, such as being easily beached should a storm arise; but for all that I think the Hokkaidō fisherman has a good deal to learn from his western brother in the matter of boat-building.

Saruma lagoon is a fine sheet of water about seven *ri* long by three *ri* wide at its greatest width, and covering an area of nearly 80 square miles. It is separated from the sea by a continuous row of sand hills covered with scrub and stunted oak trees, varying in width from 250 yards to three-quarters of a mile, and at its deepest part measures nine fathoms. The outlet into the sea is at some distance to the eastward

of the lagoon proper, and has evidently been gradually forced in this direction by the sand-drift travelling along the shore from north-west to south-east. The entrance at the date of our visit was very narrow and shallow, and the rush of water into and out of the lagoon very rapid. The outward rush of water is due to the tide and to the fresh water discharge of the rivers, two of which empty their waters into the lagoon, besides some smaller streams, while the inward rush is due to the tide alone, which in the sea rises between three and four feet and in the lagoon rather less than one foot. This of course always gives a head of water, except at mean tide, either in the lagoon or in the sea, according to whether the tide is ebbing or flowing. This tidal current, added to the effect of the fresh water discharge into the lagoon, has not, however, sufficient force to maintain an open mouth to the lagoon, and since my visit to the spot the entrance, or rather mouth, has been completely blocked up with sand. Whenever this happens the few inhabitants in the neighbourhood have forthwith to set to work and dig a channel to allow the water to escape, otherwise the water level in the lagoon rises and floods the surrounding country. Last winter the water level rose as much as seven feet during the time that one of these sand obstructions at the mouth of the lagoon was in course of removal. This lagoon would form a magnificent natural harbour provided this difficulty with the entrance to it from the sea were overcome, a thing not by any means impossible, but expensive. All along this portion of the coast of the island evidences of the magnitude of this sand drift are met with, and we passed several small rivers that were completely blocked up, and in some cases, owing to high tides and to a strong breeze causing waves, the sea water was flowing into the river over the bar instead of *vice versa*. The river water either finds its way into the sea through the sand, or else forms lagoons which increase in size until a heavy flood comes down the river and breaks through the sand bar, which is very soon re-formed, however. Saruma lagoon is very prolific in oysters, some of them attaining a large size, although not, as a rule, so large as those of Akkechi bay. They are not utilized in any way, although one or two attempts have been made, but without success, to tin and export them to the south. The east end of the lagoon appears to be gradually filling up with these shell-fish. The principal inhabitants

in this district are Ainos, the only Japanese being those at the horse-station near the mouth of the lagoon, where there is fairly good accommodation for travellers. Seal and mallard are seen in large quantities on the shores of the lagoon, but are difficult to approach in warm weather. In winter, however, we were informed that they can be shot in considerable numbers by the sportsman who is enthusiastic enough to spend a month or so in this out-of-the-way place. All trade by sea is stopped on this coast during the months of January, February and March by the ice drift which sets in from the north and works along the coast as far as Cape Noshapu, near Nemuro. The ice-field extends seaward for a distance of two or three miles from the coast and fills up any indentations in the coast line, such as river mouths, and forms one solid mass on the surface of the water, which rises and falls with the tide and often does serious damage to the bridges or other structures below high water mark. Piles are frequently lifted bodily out of the ground by the alternate rising and falling of this ice-field.

From the horse-station at Saruma on to Nurubetsu the road follows the sand hills between the sea and the lagoon to Yubetsu, one *ri* past the west end of the lagoon. Here the usual struggle between the river and the sand is visible, the latter always getting the best of the fight, much to the disadvantage of the inhabitants. The rivers between Saruma and Seya are of no great size, owing to the water-shed running parallel to the shore at about five *ri* distance therefrom. They are liable to sudden floods, however, which frequently open new mouths into the sea, thus often necessitating an alteration in the route of the horse-track. Near to Mombetsu several lagoons existed at the time of our visit with apparently no exit into the sea, but as it was, our guide—an Aino boy—was at fault more than once, doubtless owing to some alteration in the size or shape of these lagoons.

Mombetsu is a place of some importance, having a population of about 400 inhabitants during the fishing season, and it appears to be increasing in size. A fair anchorage for small vessels exists here, except with an easterly wind. From Mombetsu to Poronai and thence on to Isashi the coast line presents much the same appearance, the population being very sparse and travelling monotonous. Bamboo grass, which grows freely all round the Hokkaidō, is here met with in perfection. It

reaches a height sufficient to hide from sight both horse and rider, and when once the track is lost the horses are quite unable to force their way through it. If this grass were to be entirely burned down at the end of the warm weather and the ground broken up and cleared, good agricultural land would be obtained. Isashi is a place about equal in size to Mombetsu, these two places being the chief fishing-stations between Abashiri and Soya. The lessees of the fishings keep their boats, nets and gear at these places, and distribute them along the coast to the various fishing-stations when the season commences. The men employed at this time mostly come from the south, and as soon as they arrive build a large house or shed for their own accommodation, which they again dismantle or pull down at the close of the season. About five *ri* north of Esashi a spur of the mountain range forming the water-shed approaches the coast line, and the road here ascends the side of the hill and winds round the end of the projecting bluff at a considerable elevation above the sea. The road is very rough, and considerable care is required to prevent the horses losing their packs when rounding this promontory. Just before reaching this point a small bay is passed forming a well sheltered anchorage, except with due northerly winds. It is called Higashitomari by the inhabitants, which is literally "East-wind harbour." This is very appropriate, seeing that the anchorage is completely sheltered from that quarter.

At Sarubutsu, rather more than half-way between Esashi and Soya, there is a rest-house for travellers, now in rather a dilapidated condition, but the traffic in this district being very limited, sufficient inducement is not offered for the enterprising tea-house keeper to start business. The existing house was built by Government for the convenience of travellers. Close to Sarubutsu is the entrance to a large lagoon or lake, into which, however, the salmon passing along the coast will not enter, doubtless owing to the presence of some poisonous matter in the water, arising no doubt from the existence of coal and perhaps petroleum on the water-shed close by. Passing the small fishing village of Chietomai, Cape Soya is reached on the high land, above which a light-house has recently been erected for the benefit of shipping passing through La Pérouse straits. Saghalien is seen in the distance, the breadth of the straits from land to land being 30 miles.

At one time Soya was the principal town at this end of the island, being maintained chiefly by the travellers passing to and from Saghalien. Since the island was given up to the Russians in exchange for the Kuriles, Soya has been on the decline, and the town of Wakanai, on the opposite side of the bay, has taken the lead. This is accounted for by the fact that the anchorage off the coast at this point is much superior to that opposite Soya, where numerous reefs exist, on one of which H.M.S. *Rattler* was wrecked in 1868. The bay of Soya is completely blocked up with floating ice in the winter time, in a manner similar to the north-east coast. On the west coast, however, except in the vicinity of Cape Noshapu, no such thing occurs, the drift ice apparently all going down south along the east coast of the island. Its absence on the west coast may be due to a certain extent to the warm current of the Kuroshiwo, which sets to the northward along this coast, and also to the fact that the prevailing winds blow from the south-west and the tidal currents also set in the same direction. This is borne out by the tendency of the rivers on this coast to run to the northward before entering the sea. Between Esashi and Wakanai horses are not obtainable, with the exception of perhaps one or two at Soya, and it is therefore necessary to engage horses at Esashi for the journey on to Soya, at which place a sufficient number of fresh horses can always be obtained by sending forward to Wakanai. Travelling in this district is necessarily very slow, the road being very heavy, mostly in loose sand. The horses too are very inferior in quality and have little life left in them at the end of the third day's riding. After leaving Soya, the first day's riding finishes at Bakkai, about ten *ri* distant. This place takes its name from a peculiarly shaped rock which is supposed to resemble a woman carrying an infant on her back,—the word of course being of Aino origin. In the hotel or tea-house at Bakkai the *furo* or hot bath is of rather a primitive construction. It consists of a large fish caldron—such as is in use for extracting oil from herrings—set upon rough bricks and clay and having a fire of wood immediately under it. When the water has reached a high enough temperature, a piece of board about 18 inches square is placed on the surface, and the bather has to place his foot carefully in the centre thereof and to carry it down through the water to the bottom of the kettle with his own

weight. If not very careful, the inexperienced beginner is likely to capsize or burn his feet on the bottom of the caldron. When once safely into this primitive bath, the bather is both washed and smoked at the same time.

A good view of the islands of Rishiri and Rebunshiri is obtained from Bakkai, the former being a majestic cone-shaped peak rising out of the water to a height of 6,000 feet above the sea-level, and the latter a flat table-island only 300 feet or so above the same level and forming quite a contrast to its lofty companion. The road from Bakkai on to the Teshiwo mouth is a dreary, monotonous ride of more than thirteen *ri* over sandy beach and sandhills, the only thing interesting in the slightest degree being the enormous quantity of drift timber lying scattered along the beach. Trees of all kinds, sizes and shapes are seen here, having evidently been brought down to the coast by the rivers discharging to the southward and carried up to this point by the tidal current and prevailing winds. The river Teshiwo is a fine, broad, deep stream, and is one of the three large rivers of the Hokkaido, the others being the Ishikari and Tokachi. The sand bar at its mouth, however, is a complete block to any craft other than boats and small junks obtaining access thereto. The mouth of this river is rather puzzling, since the stream runs parallel to the shore in a *southerly* direction for some distance before flowing into the sea, whereas all the other rivers on this coast tend in a *northerly* direction. At the present time, however, the Teshiwo mouth seems to be following the rule and is again working to the northward, and I think there cannot be the slightest doubt but that the sand does all travel northward along this coast. After leaving Teshiwo and crossing the Nembetsu river the coast changes its form, the sand-hills giving place to cliffs of yellow clay rock about 200 feet high, coming close up to the water's edge. These cliffs are gradually being washed away, and the loose material forming the beach being very slippery, renders it very difficult and sometimes dangerous to pass along the shore, especially when a strong south-west wind causes the waves to dash against the cliffs. The proper road along this part of the coast is on the top of the cliffs, but at the present time it is in such a wretched condition, owing to landslips and broken bridges, that the more difficult track along the beach is generally preferred.

Furebetsu, about 8 *ri* to the south of Teshiwo, is a small village containing a few houses and a tolerably comfortable tea-house, and 8 *ri* further on Tomamai is reached, which place may be said to be the northern limit of civilization on this coast. From this point southward the fishing industry is actively engaged in and villages are numerous. Approaching Tomamai from the north, the cliffs appear to be of hard rock-limestone, and are not disappearing in such a marked manner as those near Furebetsu. To the southward of Tomamai there exists a narrow strip between the sea and the high land at the back, which is thickly covered with houses. The table-land at the back is about 150 feet above sea-level, and is cultivated to a small extent for root crops principally. Potatoes, turnips, and daikon seem to grow very well, and the country struck me as being admirably adapted for farming and stock-raising.

From Tomamai to Rumoi and thence on to Mashike the traveller passes through numerous fishing villages which have a thriving appearance, this portion of the Hokkaidō coasts being the most prolific in the fishes of the north—salmon and herrings. Crossing the Kotambetsu and Oberaspe rivers, Rumoi is reached, situated on a river of the same name. Rumoi is the Japanese name for the town; the Ainos call it "Rurumoppe." It possesses a tolerably good anchorage in its bay, having deep water close in shore, and as a harbour it is capable of considerable improvement. The trade here at present is all due to the fishing business, but there is every probability of Rumoi becoming a place of importance hereafter, both from its position on the coast line and from the fact that good coal has been discovered on the upper reaches of the river. Mashike, about four *ri* from Rumoi and close under Cape Kamuieto, is at present the chief town on the west and east coasts between Otaru and Nemuro. It has a population of between 2,500 and 3,000, a portion of this of course being migratory, although not to so great an extent as is the case on the south or east coasts. The town is well built, with wide streets and good water supply, and altogether it has a very prosperous appearance. The principal merchants and fishing lessees in this district have their headquarters here, and the greater portion of the fish and fish-manure produce of the adjoining villages is concentrated at Mashike and from

there shipped to the southern markets. The harbour, or rather bay, at Mashike is exposed to the north, and having bad holding ground it is dangerous for ships to remain at anchor therein with the wind in a northerly or north-westerly direction.

From Mashike going southward the road crosses the mountains to Hammamashike, reaching an elevation of 2,000 feet above sea-level, and thence follows the coast line to the Ishikari. As the road in question is anything but an easy one to pass over, however, travellers usually prefer to go by sea round Cape Kamuieto, and so avoid the mountain climb. As we had no further coast line to inspect before reaching the Ishikari, we embarked in one of the small steamers that run twice a week during the summer from Mashike to Otaru. This steamer was little better than a launch and very light in the water, and as a strong gale was blowing from the eastward we experienced a very rough passage, the boat being more than once nearly on her beam ends. An easterly gale is very severely felt in the bay of Otaru, and it is sometimes difficult if not impossible to land or embark on a steamer with the wind in this direction. Taking the train at Otaru we arrived in Sapporo after an absence of 68 days, having travelled a distance of 840 miles.

Having thus briefly referred to the ground travelled over, I will now give in as few words as possible the impressions I gained as to the present condition of the country and its inhabitants, and my opinion as to its future prosperity.

To begin with the climate. It is not unlike that of the British Isles, only having a winter rather more severe and lengthened, and with a more humid atmosphere during the warm season. I will not inflict upon you any figures relating to temperature, rain-fall, etc. These can always be obtained from the printed reports of the meteorological office. The productions of the soil are very similar in the two countries, only the growth of vegetation in the Hokkaidō is the more rapid of the two, due no doubt to the greater humidity of the atmosphere. This to a certain extent compensates for the extra length of the winter, which does not terminate until the beginning of April, when the snow begins to melt. It entirely disappears early in May.

A very small portion of the island is as yet cultivated, and that only in a superficial manner, excepting in the neighbourhoods of

Sapporo and Nemuro, where, owing to government help and direction, a fairly good system has been adopted. The agricultural population, mostly coming from the south, have not as yet gained sufficient experience to cultivate the land in the most economical manner. The system in force in the southern portion of Japan, where two and sometimes three crops are taken from the land in one season, will not prove at all remunerative in the Hokkaidō, where only one crop is obtainable. Horses being low in first cost and cheap to feed, ploughing should be more extensively resorted to, and the market gardening system of farming—if I may call it so—should be abandoned. Hitherto all kinds of root crops and cereals grown in the northern portion of the main island have been tried with perfect success, excepting rice and wheat. The former will never be grown as a paying crop, owing to the long winters, and the latter has not as yet arrived at that state of perfection which is desirable for the manufacture of good white flour. I see no reason, however, why, with an efficient system of subsoil drainage, wheat of good quality should not be grown and in paying crops. Potatoes of both kinds flourish, and the same may be said of turnips, daikon and beans, while Indian corn, millet, buckwheat and hemp produce average crops. The climate of the island is well adapted for the cultivation of hardy fruit trees, and in the neighbourhood of Sapporo large quantities of apples, pears, plums, cherries, etc., are now gathered annually and prove a very remunerative crop to the grower. As regards stock raising, cattle thrive well, and the beef produced is not inferior to that grown in the Kobe district. The chief obstacle to the more extensive rearing of cattle seems to be the want of capital on the part of the small farmer to obtain stock in the first instance. Sheep have not as yet been raised with success, owing no doubt to the want of suitable grass land, most of the grass—if such it can be called—being too rank for feeding sheep, and the dampness of the subsoil generally results in the animal being attacked with foot-rot. In the neighbourhood of Sapporo, however, I have been informed by Mr. Dun, who had charge of the Government farm there for some years, that there should be no difficulty experienced in the raising of sheep. There is therefore some hope that sheep-farming may yet be a success in the Hokkaidō.

Horses are at present bred in large numbers, especially along the south coast, where, as I have already said, their winter keep is not an important item of expenditure. Practically no supervision is ever exercised over the herd during the breeding season, and the result naturally is the production of an animal inferior in every respect. The price of a horse being very low—five or six yen on the south coast—their owners do not set much value on them, and consequently their treatment is not such as would be tolerated in England. Pack-horses are often used with their backs one mass of sores, caused by the chafing of the pack-saddles, while it is no uncommon sight to see foals of a month or two old trotting after their mothers for miles while the latter are carrying packs or travellers. These remarks do not apply to horse farms under government supervision, where the animals are well treated and where the breed is being considerably improved by the introduction of foreign blood.

Coming now to the population—that is the resident population—including Ainos, the number is roughly 220,000 (57,000 houses) and is gradually increasing. The condition of the inhabitants of the Hokkaidō on the whole is better than that of the individual of the same class in the south of Japan. He fares better, and when working as a labourer earns considerably better wages—generally one hundred per cent more than his brothers in the south. This is perhaps necessary, as he has to live better, the climate being colder, and also because for some time during the winter he may not be able to earn anything at all. His food consists of rice or maize, fish, daikon, and potatoes, for the first of which he has to pay a higher price than in the south. The other eatables, however, are plentiful and cheap, fish especially so. Firewood is plentiful, and can in all districts be had for the trouble of cutting. Coal is moderate in price, and would be considerably cheaper if the demand were greater. The houses in which the lower classes in the Hokkaidō live are not, however, adapted for the cold winters experienced, these being almost of the same construction as those used in the southern districts of Japan, where the winters are infinitely milder. What is wanted of the inhabitant of the Hokkaidō is that he should build himself a good warm house; give up eating rice and take to more heat-giving food, and such as can be

produced in the island, and adopt the plough as the means for cultivating the ground. That these ends will ultimately be obtained I make no doubt; in fact maize is now to a moderate extent taking the place of rice, especially among the children, and the plough is occasionally seen in the neighbourhood of Sapporo. But the sooner they are attained the sooner will the inhabitants improve in their physical and moral condition, and the Hokkaidō rise in prosperity. The principal want on the part of the immigrant from the south is undoubtedly that of capital. A good house cannot be built nor farming implements procured without money or credit, and as the former is scarce among the small Japanese farmers, it would, I think, be desirable to provide some means whereby he could avail himself of the latter to a moderate extent when making a start in the Hokkaido. No doubt the government have to a certain extent recognised this in establishing the military settlements or "Tonden," but in this case a certain term of service as a soldier is necessary on the part of at least one member of the farmer's household. Some system similar to that of our Building Societies in England would, I think, meet the case as far as houses are concerned, and would also prove remunerative to the shareholders.

I have already made reference more than once to the very fine timber met with in the various districts passed through. Large as the quantity is that is seen near the coasts, I believe it is only a fraction of what the whole island contains. The Hokkaidō is yet, for all practical purposes, one large forest of splendid trees, mostly of the same kinds as those met with in the British Isles. Owing to the humidity of the atmosphere, the softer woods shrink and warp to a considerable degree after being used for constructive purposes. Nearly all the woods of the north require considerably more seasoning than those of the south of Japan, and as soon as the suitable kinds of wood receive proper treatment at the hands of the builder or manufacturer, the importance and value of the timber trade of the Hokkaidō will be recognised. Of the softer woods—*Yesso Matsu* and *Shenuku*, both species of pine, are the best. The latter is the best of the two for out-door work and where exposed to water, as it contains a considerable quantity of resinous matter, being in this respect not unlike the pitch

pine of North America, only rather harder. *Yesso Matsu* is extensively used at present for house-building and also boat-building. If not thoroughly seasoned, however, it is apt to shrink if exposed to the hot sun of the summer, and for this reason the fishermen are very careful to house their boats or cover them with grass matting during the hot months of the year. Of the harder woods—ash, oak, etc.—not much use is made as yet, except for furniture and small fittings about dwelling houses, and what is to be seen in a manufactured state does not as a rule appear to have been in a seasoned condition when used.

When on the question of building materials, I may as well refer to stone and brick. The former is scarce—that is good soft building stone. Hard stone, such as granite, trachyte, etc., is plentiful, but of course expensive to work. Good clay suitable for brick manufacture is met with in several localities, and in the immediate neighbourhood of Sapporo first-rate bricks are made at a moderate price. Were the demand greater the price of these bricks could be reduced by a larger out-turn.

As to animals and birds,—bears and deer, once so plentiful, are now very scarce and only to be met with on the mountains towards the centre of the island. I never once saw either bears or deer during my trip, excepting one sickly looking bear cub in a cage which an Aino woman was carefully rearing so as to be in good condition for an Aino festive gathering at the beginning of the year. The smaller animals are much the same as with us at home. I was very much struck with the absence of small birds around the coasts. This may be partly due to the severe winter and partly to the depredations of the crows during the breeding season. These crows—most of them carrion-eaters—exist in hundreds of thousands, and while they are of use as scavengers in clearing off all kinds of offal and refuse of fish, they are almost as bad as hawks in preying upon the young of the smaller birds and also in eating their eggs. This scarcity of small birds is greatly to be regretted, as the insect tribe—more especially flies and mosquitoes—are a great pest in the warm weather. Bull-flies, sand-flies, mosquitoes, etc., seem to flourish in the uncultivated lands, but diminish rapidly when the land is cleared and cultivated. The larger kind of bull-fly is a great plague to the horses. He fastens himself on to the back and neck

of the unfortunate pack-horse, and only falls off when he is gorged with blood. A dozen or so of these large flies will draw enough blood from an ordinary horse to render him useless for some time to come. If there were more small birds, especially swallows and swifts, travelling would be much pleasanter during the months of August and September.

Before concluding this paper I should like to draw attention to the tides on the coasts. The peculiar thing about these tides is their diurnal inequality, which amounts to about three feet at spring tides along the south-east coast, the maximum rise of a spring tide being six feet, while the range of an ordinary spring tide is about four and a half feet. The lowest tide at new and full moon occurs about 10 A.M., and the second daily tide reaches a minimum about three and a half days before new and full moons, or at the change of the tides. On the south-east coast this minimum afternoon tide occurs about 6 P.M. and only registers a few inches; while on the west coast, at Abashiri, there is practically only one tide in the 24 hours for four days before and one day after new and full moons, and during this period the tide takes 16 hours to rise and eight hours to fall. The range of the tides gradually decreases as the coast line is followed east and north and thence south down the west coast. At Abashiri the maximum is three and a half feet and at Mashike only 2.20 feet. The tide registers on the west coast, I am sorry to say, were very imperfectly kept, and it is therefore very difficult to arrive at any conclusions as to the times and extent of any inequalities that may exist in the tides there.

This diurnal inequality of tides exists I believe on most of the shores bordering on the Pacific ocean, but not having any information on the matter, I cannot say to what extent it affects the southern shores of Japan. Tides similar to those described occur on the southern coast of Australia and also at Singapore, and are accounted for by the interference of tidal waves having different heights and generated in different parts of the ocean, and which are modified by the configuration of the land and depths of water. The tidal wave proper in mid-ocean has a height of nearly two feet at Spring tides.

In this paper it will be noticed that I have not made any reference to the Aino question. That you have I believe had often put before you by gentlemen who have given the matter more attention than I in my

comparatively short trip have been able to do. The Aino men struck me in some cases as being handsome and in all cases very dirty. The younger women are sometimes good looking, in spite of the wretched ornament with which they adorn their lips and of which they appear ashamed.

In conclusion, I think the prosperity of the Hokkaidō has a very favourable outlook. The country has considerable mineral wealth, enormous quantities of timber, very fair agricultural land, and a healthy climate. I have already expressed an opinion on the agricultural problem, and all that is wanted to develop the minerals and timber is the extension of private enterprise by the introduction of more capital and the employment of suitable and energetic men to direct the labour—easily obtainable—so as to ensure the capital being laid out to advantage. The government of the country have given the island a good start in the right direction. It remains with the people themselves to carry out the development of the Hokkaidō with energy and determination.

INŌ CHŪKEI, THE JAPANESE SURVEYOR AND CARTOGRAPHER.

BY CARGILL G. KNOTT, D. SC., F. R. S. E.

[*Read April 18, 1888.*]

It may be matter of surprise to many, and surely of interest to all, to know that Japan has not been without her scientific giants in the days of old. My work in connection with the recent Magnetic Survey of Japan has brought very particularly to my notice the labours of one who might be named the Japanese Picard.¹ A short account of his life may well find a place in the pages of the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan.

Inō (originally Jimbō) Kageyu² was born in 1744 in a small village called Sagaramura in the province of Shimōsa, Japan. Inō was the name he acquired by marrying into a family, in accordance with the very usual Japanese custom. The position of such a son-in-law (*muko-yōshi*) is by no means an enviable one, and it is said that Inō's lot was not particularly happy. His wife, it seemed, was somewhat of a shrew and ruled her husband with a high hand. She did not permit him even to eat with the family, banishing him instead to the servants' mess. Notwithstanding this treatment Inō proved ultimately

¹ Inō has sometimes been called the Japanese Newton; but Seki Shinsuke a famous mathematician, who invented a kind of differential and integral calculus, has perhaps a greater claim to such a high title. Picard was the French astronomer who made the first really good determination of the size of the earth, and thus gave Newton the only sure foundation on which to build his grand theory of universal gravitation.

² This is his common name or *tsūshō* (通稱). His *jitsu-mei* or *na-nori* (實名, 名乗), by which he is usually known nowadays, is Inō Chūkei (伊能忠敬). How he and his associates pronounced "Chūkei" it is impossible to say.

the repairer of the family's fortunes. His father-in-law was a *sake* brewer, conducting a business which had descended from father to son for many generations. On his death, affairs were found to be in a very bad state. Inō thereupon applied himself diligently to the business, and through his untiring efforts, combined with strict economy, he gradually amassed considerable wealth. In his fiftieth year, that is about 1794, he transferred the whole business to his son and began his scientific career.

Astronomy was the study to which he devoted the "declining years" of his life. The books at his disposal were all in Chinese and contained many obscure passages which he in vain tried to understand. Nothing daunted, however, he made his way to Yedo, and sat at the feet of the Takahashis, father and son, astronomers to the Shōgun.

Takahashi Sakuzaemon Tōkō, the father, had been called from Ōsaka to Yedo to superintend the construction of the calendar. In all his work he was greatly aided by Asada, a practical astronomer resident in Ōsaka, who was probably the better man of the two. The elder Takahashi died in 1804, and it was with the younger Takahashi that Inō had most to do. Certain letters written to him by Inō still exist, and their style is such as would naturally be used by one addressing a former teacher. Takahashi Sakuzaemon Kageyasu, the son, is however himself famous in connection with an episode of Western significance. Towards the close of Von Siebold's first visit to Japan, Takahashi gave to the great scientific traveller two maps, one of the Main Island of Japan and one of Yezo, in exchange for some books and papers of Western Science. Von Siebold also obtained temporarily on loan Mamiya's ³ Travels to Eastern Tartary and Saghalien and a map of Kyūshū. In 1830 Von Siebold set sail from Deshima. The story is that he suffered shipwreck, and that amongst his baggage cast on shore the two precious maps were found. An investigation followed, and Takahashi was cast into prison and tried for high treason. Before the trial was ended he died, but the judge in giving sentence said that, had the culprit lived, he would certainly have suffered capital punish-

³It was Mamiya who discovered the strait between Saghalien and the continent of Asia.

ment. Probably, in accordance with old Japanese custom in such circumstances, the body of Takahashi was preserved in salt until the trial was ended and the sentence pronounced.

To return, however, to Inō, we find him in 1800 setting out, by permission of the Government, to survey the Island of Yezo at his own expense. In the following year he was instructed to survey all the coasts and islands of Japan. The survey of the north-eastern coast was finished in 1804, and by 1818 his labours in the field were completed. In the work he was assisted by thirteen others, four of whom were pupils studying under him. It should be mentioned, perhaps, that certain parts of the coast were surveyed very imperfectly—such as the eastern and the north-western coasts. Exactly when he died is not known certainly, but for some time after the completion of the survey he seems to have been engaged in the construction of his maps.

The instruments which Inō employed in the survey were destroyed by fire; but in 1828 two instruments,⁴ said to be exact copies of the original ones, were made by Ōno Yasaburo, the father of the late engineer who constructed the Mint at Ōsaka. A compass-needle, made and used by Inō, has however been preserved by his family.

Ōno's instruments are two, one for measuring azimuths and the other for measuring altitudes. The former is simply a horizontal circular disc of copper 19 inches in diameter, graduated by radial lines into degrees. Seven concentric circles are traced near the extremity of the disk at such distances apart that, when a straight line is engraved joining the point where the inmost circle cuts a given radial line to the point where the outmost circle cuts the next radial line, this so-called diagonal gives by its intersections with the intermediate circles angular intervals corresponding to 10' or one-fifth of a degree. The graduated circular disc rests on three legs provided with levelling screws. From its centre rises an upright wooden pillar which is surmounted by a tube (or perhaps a telescope) for sighting distant objects. The levelling of the circle is accomplished by means of a brass "plummet" hanging down one side of the upright pillar. The pillar rotates freely,

⁴ Through the kindness of Mr. Arai, of the Meteorological Office, these instruments were exhibited before the meeting at which the paper was read.

and carries with it a horizontal rod resting on the graduated circle. The position of this rod indicates at once the angle to be read.

The instrument for measuring altitudes is a brass quadrant, 19 inches in radius, with a telescope fixed to one of the straight limbs. The whole is mounted on an upright wooden pillar resting on three legs. The telescope and quadrant, which move together in a vertical plane about a pivot passing approximately through the centre of gravity, can be clamped in any required position. From the angle of the quadrant a "plummet-line," in the form of a brass rod, hangs. The position of this rod, as it hangs just free of the quadrant arc, indicates the angle to be read. The quadrant is graduated in a manner very similar to the azimuth circle, only to a finer degree of division. The radial lines measure to thirds of a degree; and by means of the "diagonal-scale" arrangement, angles can be read to half-minutes. On the azimuth circle again it would be difficult if not impossible to read to minutes even.

With such instruments, which were about a century and a half behind the Western age, did Inō carry out his survey. About 1135 direct measurements of latitudes were taken by means of the quadrant. The distances between successive stations were measured by three distinct methods. Ropes were used as our land surveyors use chains; also a kind of wheel or roller, the number of revolutions of which measured the distance travelled. Then with the azimuth instrument a triangulation by means of prominent hills and land-marks was carried out. From the distances so obtained, the longitudes seem to have been calculated.

The results of Inō's labours are given in the "Dai Nippon En-Kai-jis-soku-roku," or, the Record of the True Survey of the Coasts of Japan (1821, 14 volumes). This treatise existed simply in manuscript till 1870 (Meiji, 3), when it was published in proper book form by the Tōkyō University (Hitotsu-bashi)—at that time known as the Daigaku Nankō. Three kinds of maps were constructed, the largest consisting of 30 different sheets, the medium sized of two, and the smallest of one. These maps have been the basis of all subsequent ones; and for many places in Japan Inō's measurements of latitude (and longitude) are the only ones which have as yet been made.

On completion of the survey, Takahashi published an epitome of the results in a book having the title, "Inō's Table of Latitudes and Longitudes." In the preface to this work are some interesting remarks about Inō's modes of operation. For the following translation of these I am indebted to Mr. H. Nagaoka, post-graduate student in the Imperial University. "The Europeans," it is said, "are of opinion that the magnetic needle generally deviates towards the west, never pointing true north, and that there exist local variations. These statements are to be found in Dutch books. In the coast survey made by Inō Chūkei, the compass needle formed an essential part of his stock of instruments. The best needles are made in Europe, but Chūkei was under no obligation to Western skill. With needles of his own construction, he determined the configuration of the coast line as well as the positions of mountains and islands. . . . He found that the needle always pointed true north and south, and had no westward deviation. . . . Chūkei again says that in using the needle one must have no steel ("hammered iron") near. For under the influence of the spirit (or atmosphere) of iron, the needle points sometimes east, sometimes west, and cannot then be said to have no deviation. Hence the sword⁵ ought not to be worn during survey work, nor should there be any piece of iron allowed near the body. Due attention to these particulars destroys all risk of causing a deviation in the needle."

It would appear that Inō rather doubted the truth of the magnetic variation, and was inclined to refer its appearance in Europe to carelessness either in the construction or handling of the compass-needle. There can be little doubt, however, as to the accuracy of Inō's own observation that in Japan at that time the direction of magnetic north coincided with the direction of geographical north. At present the magnetic variation has a mean value of nearly 5° W. for the whole of Japan.

According to Inō the mean length of one degree of latitude is 28.2 *ri*. From a copy of the standard *shaku* used by Inō—the original seems to have been lost by fire—this distance has been estimated as equivalent to 110.7 kilometres. The true value is 111 kilometres.

⁵ It is said that, as Inō was compelled by national etiquette to wear the appearance, at least, of a sword, he substituted for the real sword a wooden one.

The lengths of a degree of longitude in latitudes 35° , 40° , 44° are given as 23.1 *ri*, 21.6 *ri* and 20.285 *ri* respectively. Reduced to kilometres, these are 90.7, 84.8 and 79.66. The true values are 91.08, 85.18, 79.99, differing in no case from Inō's values by as much as one-half per cent.

When we consider the age at which Inō began his scientific career—an age at which most men are thinking of retiring from the busy field of life—and when further we call to mind the rude instruments with which he did his work, we cannot but feel that we have here a man worthy of a high place amongst the scientific leaders of the last generation. In these days of candid criticism, his work has stood the severest tests and remains a grand monument of his perseverance, patience and accuracy. His greatness is now fully appreciated, and some six or seven years ago received Imperial recognition. The rank of Shō-shi-i (正四位), or Senior 4th class, was at that time conferred on Inō. Excepting nobles, very few held that rank in the days when Inō flourished, although it is common enough nowadays. Such posthumous honours are, besides, very rare. His countrymen may indeed well be proud of Inō Chūkei, almost a unique figure in the history of science in Japan.

In preparing this short biography of Inō, I have been fortunate in the hearty assistance of Mr. Arai, Superintendent of the Meteorological Office, and of Professor Yamagawa and Mr. Nagaoka of the Imperial University. Without the aid of these gentlemen, indeed, I could have done little or nothing; and in here recording my indebtedness to them, I would also express my warmest thanks.

CHINESE AND ANNAMESE.

 BY E. H. PARKER.

[*Read 16th May, 1888.*]

It has now been fairly well demonstrated by the combined efforts of a number of students that the Chinese languages or dialects form one indivisible and homogeneous whole. Of the 40,000 characters given by K'anghì, perhaps 10,000 will suffice to cover the whole field of general literature, the remaining 30,000 serving the same special objects as 100,000 of the 120,000 words to be found in the completest English dictionary. The 10,000 characters committed to memory by natives of all provinces alike are the true basis of the language; and, making a reasonable allowance for exceptions, variants, and inexplicable accidents, we may state of these 10,000 words that they are relatively the same in all Chinese dialects, each dialect having diverged more or less from a presumed original form, which original form has been maintained unmutilated through the whole history of Chinese lexicography, from the Shwoh-wên down to K'ang-hi. So far, it has been impossible to define what this original form was in a positive sense; because, Chinese being destitute of letters, it is only possible to express the original sounds by presenting the initials and finals of characters still having a modern sound in each dialect. Though the general average of dialects may, by process of elimination or comparison, point to an old form, which old form might have been reduced to certainty by committing it to alphabetical shape, there is no modern dialect which has so little diverged from the presumed ancient form, mother of all, that it can be pointed to with present certainty as being the uncorrupted representative of the original; but the internal evidence of Chinese

dialects themselves, together with the external evidence of the corrupted forms introduced into Korean and Japanese, prove beyond doubt that modern Cantonese, if not actually the same as ancient Chinese, is, at least, the dialect which, word for word, has least deflected from the undefinable original; and that Hakka, which on the whole is more corrupted than Cantonese, still preserves a few ancient finals which have been lost to the superior dialect of Canton. Thus, though it is impossible to say that 法筆 and 得 were actually pronounced *fap*, *pit*, and *tet* in ancient times, the evidence is universal that the two first represent what the sounds were as far back as we can go in the direction of the original; whilst, in the case of the third, the balance of evidence is in favour of the supposition that Hakka has improperly evolved a final *t*, or else that Hakka preserves finals anterior in date to the introduction of Chinese words into Korean and Japanese. Regarding the remaining 30,000 words, none of these being known to colloquial, and thus none of them forming the living original from which dictionaries must necessarily have been and be constructed, they have no etymological value; for the speakers of each dialect must of necessity hunt up the sounds, and fix them by the light of the 10,000 well-known sounds which are used to define the sounds of the remaining 30,000 rare characters. It might be more reasonable, judging by the average knowledge possessed by a Chinese literate, to take 5,000 as the sum of the living key, and 35,000 as the sum of the rare characters to which the key must be applied; but that does not affect the principle of the theory. In addition to the 5,000 or 10,000 words in common use, characters for which are recognized by the dictionaries, there are a few hundred vulgar words in each Chinese dialect, which either possess no characters at all, or no characters recognized by the dictionaries. The reason probably is either that words have a low, ignoble, or local signification, or that they have never been used by any of the lights of literature, just as with us a number of well-known slang, obscene, local, or ignoble words exist which are never admitted into dictionaries. But, even with regard to these condemned words, there is a considerable homogeneity in Chinese, and it is not easy to find a vulgar word the use of which is totally confined to one single dialect, which is not represented by some accidentally forgotten character, or which cannot

be explained. In other words, when allowance is made for the few foreign words which even such a conservative race as the Chinese must have introduced into its language, it has been proved that, from a literary point of view, the Chinese dialects are one homogeneous whole, and that even from a vulgar and local point of view, there is nothing in any of them to point to an extensive non-Chinese influence. If the vulgar words mentioned find no analogues in Korean or Japanese, it is naturally because, being unwritten and thus undefined, they can never have been deliberately introduced into Japanese or Korean.

Now, Annamese is another link in the chain which proves the soundness of the theory above propounded, and the writings of those gentlemen who have made Annamese their special study deserve to be carefully considered. First and foremost is M. Landes, whose *Notes sur la langue Annamite*, in vol. viii, No. 19, of the admirable series of *Excursions et Reconnaissances*, merit the most respectful attention. It is simply marvellous if M. Landes has arrived at such just conclusions from data furnished by study of Annamite alone; his paper, however, shews signs of extended reading, and it is more probable that he has not disdained to avail himself of the light afforded by those who have studied the same subject in China. M. Landes tells us that "Annamite counts six tones, inclusive of the even tone; these tones are not identical in all the provinces, and these variations are also found in Chinese." It has already been elsewhere explained that the whole of the eight Chinese tones are represented in Annamese-Chinese, but that the intonations of the two Annamite entering tones are the same as the intonations of the two Annamite departing tones. In my papers on the Canton, Hakka, Foochow and Wénchow dialects, I have shown how the Chinese entering tones (that is how words ending in *t*, *p*, or *k*) have the same intonation (differing in each dialect) as some other non-entering tone (that is as words ending in *n*, *m*, *ng*, or a vowel); and thus in some dialects it may be pardonable to count two tones having the same intonation as one tone; this, however, is an error, for, where the entering tones drop the final consonant, and where they do not happen to have the same intonation as another non-entering tone, they form separate tones. Thus it is absolutely necessary to keep theory and practice apart, just as, in French, the fact that final

consonants are not sounded, or are confused, is no justification for saying that they do not separately exist. They are often *brought into* existence again for rhyming purposes, and in combinations of words, just as, in Chinese, tones must be recognized in poetry even if they exist in the imagination alone. The "variations" to which M. Landes alludes do certainly exist, but they do not affect the rule, and even so far as they may appear to affect the rule, the causes for such variations may be either explained or reasonably surmised. There is one very important point, however, which calls for examination. How comes it that pure Annamese, which is a tonic and monosyllabic language like Chinese, but with only 10 per cent of Chinese words in its colloquial form, has in living speech exactly the same sounding tones as Annamese-Chinese? The peculiar construction of Annamese, and the fact that the Annamese have invented mongrel Chinese characters for pure Annamese words, seem to prove (what is easily provable on other grounds) that Annamese has or had an independent existence of its own. The answer must be either (1) that the Annamese had no tones, or no well-defined tones when they began to introduce Chinese words; or (2) that finding Chinese tones absolutely necessary for literary purposes, they have gradually modified their own tones (originally six) and the Chinese-Cantonese tones (six in fact, but eight in theory) so as to form one set. In Chinese, the tones, accordingly as they are an upper or lower series, constitute the distinction between an initial surd and an initial sonant (in some dialects an aspirate), and, accordingly as they are entering or non-entering, constitute the distinction between a surd and a nasal final. It is most important that competent Annamese scholars should elucidate two points: (1) Is it an absolute fact that there are really only six tones for pure Annamite words, and that these tones are and were really exactly the same in sound as in the Annamite-Chinese words: (2) have or had the said tones, in the case of pure Annamite words, the same or any effect upon the initials and finals of different dialects, as in Chinese? From the fact, stated by M. Landes, that *vòi* (=Chinese 下平) means "to reach from afar," and *vòi* (=Chinese 上平) means "the trunk of an elephant," whilst *vòi* (=Chinese 上平) means "an elephant," is very important, if it can be shewn that the three words are etymologically connected: but,

unless the same bastard character is used for all three, how can it be assumed that there is any etymological connection; and, even if the same bastard character be used, what literary weight have such bastard characters at all? This query opens a correlative Chinese question. When we are told that 燕 means "a swallow," or "Peking," accordingly as it is read *yen'* or *yen*, why should we admit the right of the Chinese to call two words one, just because the same character is used? Or, in other words, when the Chinese use a character for two or more different sounds and meanings, have they always been careful to preserve proof of their etymological connection?

The Annamites, says M. Landes, possessed, "dit-on," a phonetic writing previous to the second century of our era, but its use was abolished by *Sì Vuong* in favour of Chinese. This statement is made by most writers on Annamese subjects, but there is no ground whatever given for the statement, which seems to have been copied from writer to writer: the error, if error it be, may probably be traced back to some vague Chinese statement about the 重譯 who came with the earliest missions from Yüehshang. In an Annamite book, printed in Chinese character with the word-for-word vulgar Annamese or *chu nom* forms side by side, called the 四字經, it is stated that "During the Wu or three Empire period, *Sì Vuong* [士王] was pro-consul: he taught the Odes and History, and civilized the Annamese." Nothing whatever is said of an ancient alphabet, though true, the example of the Koreans and Manchus shews that alphabets have failed to compete with character elsewhere. I have enquired of all the Europeans I have met who are likely to have heard any traditions there may be, but not one has shewn to me the slightest ground for believing that the Annamese ever knew any writing but Chinese. The two words *chu nom* meaning "borrowed characters" or "vulgar characters" have no separate meaning, but as the first word is vulgarly written with two characters 字, and the second with the phonetic character 喃 it is surmised that the first word is a corruption of the Chinese word 字 (pronounced *tu* or *tü* in Annamite), and the second a corruption of the Chinese word 南 (pronounced *nam* in Annamite), the whole meaning "characters of the south" in accordance with the primary rule of Annamite that the adjective follows the noun.

M. Landes thinks that, as the Annamites (like the Coreans and Japanese) have borrowed from the Chinese all their administrative, legal, scientific, and religious knowledge, and have not during 2,000 years had any other linguistic influences to contend with, their language may well have been so impregnated that, even admitting the postulate that the Annuamite and Chinese races originally came from two stocks, it must be admitted that Annamite has now been so affected that it is as much a dialect of Chinese as Spanish and Portuguese are of Latin. M. Landes refers to a book by M. Abel des Michels on *Les origines de la langue annamite*, but he says that he has not read that book. He quotes, however, a sentence of M. Michel's with which we entirely agree: "*La grande majorité des racines annamites ne peut s'expliquer par le chinois, et la syntaxe des deux langues est complètement différente.*" I do not know Annamite, but after a tolerably wide experience of Chinese dialects, and with the assistance of a dictionary (kindly furnished to me by M. Landes some years ago) giving the Annamite sounds of Chinese words, it is not difficult for me, having now read through the whole of M. Petrusky's Annamite grammar, to positively assert two things: (1) Annamite-Chinese, with no more exceptions than are found in Chinese dialects, strictly follows the "laws" of change, and the Annamite pronunciation of every Chinese word can be predicated with the same certainty, tone included, as the Cantonese pronunciation of every Chinese word: (2) colloquial Annamite, as exhibited in Petrusky's grammar, does not contain more than about ten per cent of leading Chinese words, whilst Japanese and Corean colloquial contain perhaps twenty or thirty per cent. As this second point is one upon which my own judgment would run unusual risks of erring, I have enquired of M. Dumontier (Hanoi) and M. Navelle (Saïgon), both of whom fully share the second opinion, and also the first as far as their studies have enabled them to understand that particular point. As M. Landes points out, and as I have pointed out with reference to Corean and Japanese, "*il ne sera pas sans intérêt de déterminer d'abord quels sont les éléments chinois qui font aujourd'hui partie de la langue Annamite et quelles altérations ils ont subies.*" There is no difficulty whatever in both determining and proving this, but the value of such a proof goes further; it enables us to say: given proofs

of how Chinese words have changed, let us assume that the same changes have affected pure Annamite or other foreign words, and then we can decide two things:—

- (1) Whether these assumed pure Annamite words belong to a more ancient stock of Chinese (as I think is the case with pure Japanese) or not (as I think is the case with pure Korean) ;
- (2) Whether, as is very probable, side by side with regularly adopted Chinese words, there are not also a number of irregular Chinese words irregularly adopted into colloquial from various Chinese dialects : just as, for instance, the French have the word *choquer* as we have the word *shock*, but, in addition, adopt for irregular purposes the English word *shocking* in English dress. I have noticed a number of words which seem to fall under this category ; for instance the two words *chũ nam* (for *tũ nam*), *lãnh*, “cold” (for *lãnh*), etc.

M. Landes very justly points out that the Annamite pronunciation of Chinese is archaic, and makes the excellent remark that *Le chinois n'étant ici que la langue de quelques lettrés qui le recevaient par tradition dans les écoles, il ne devait pas se corrompre aussi facilement qu'en Chine où il formait la langue commune*. The Cantonese, however, is hardly corrupted at all, whilst the Pekingese is the most corrupted : it appears then to be rather the influence of strangers—such as the Tartars—which corrupts the colloquial, which colloquial, as has been shown in my papers on various Chinese dialects, varies considerably in China. In Canton the colloquial is practically pure : in Ningpo a system of double sounds is preserved, and to a certain extent also in Foochow : north of the Yangtze it has become almost impossible to preserve with the colloquial a record of the more ancient sounds. In Korea and Japan, Chinese words, however travestied, may be said to follow the rules except as to tone more strictly than in China. M. Landes' comparison with the pure Latin, which was preserved almost as a spoken language during the middle ages, in all but Latin countries, by a small class of clerks, is very much to the point and illustrates in a measure the state of Chinese as adopted into Korean, Japanese, and Annamite. M. Landes accordingly divides into three categories the Chinese words which have passed into Annamese.

1. Direct importations from modern dialects, recognizable, but subject to no regular etymological laws; few in number, and chiefly Canton, Fuh Kien, or Swatow [Trieu Chau] slang or trade jargon.
2. Authentic importations into the vulgar through the "Mandarin" Annamese, and seldom varying much from the tone and sound which the Chinese dictionaries would assign to the words as affected by the genius of the Annamese tongue.
3. Words distantly resembling, or differing from, Chinese words of the same meaning, but subject to laws of change which prove them to be of one source with Chinese; some appearing in categories 1 and 2.

Regarding the first two categories, there is no difficulty and no question. Regarding the second M. Landes asks: Were these words imported at a date anterior to historical importations, or were they imported in historical times, and owe their great change to the fact of their having been adopted into colloquial Annamite, and thus freed from the check imposed by literary tradition? M. Landes (writing in 1884), says that monographs of the Chinese dialects and of the Indo-Chinese dialects will be necessary for the solution of this problem, and that, up to that date, no such preparatory work had been done for Annamese. Pending the appearance of the required monographs, M. Landes thinks that, despite a number of irreducible elements, Annamite may well be a Chinese dialect in the largest sense; or, if not so, then a toneless monosyllabic language, gradually impregnated with Chinese elements, and thus become a mixed, and tonal, besides being a monosyllabic language.

It would be rash to pronounce absolutely upon this subject; but as I have now examined natives in Hanoi and other places in the delta, and in Cochin China; spoken with different missionaries who have spent many years of their lives in Tonquin, and Central Annam; consulted such of the French gentlemen in Annam as have given their attention to the scientific examination of Annamese; and, lastly, compared notes with the eminent Doc-phu-su Hwang Tsing [黃靜], and the well-known Annamite scholar M. Petrusky [張永記], I think I may venture to point out how far the evidence thus far available will take us.

M. Kergaradee, who is in a peculiarly favorable position for pronouncing a sound opinion, states that the construction of Siamese is absolutely identical with that of Annamese. Siamese is at bottom a monosyllabic and tonal language like Chinese and Annamite, and has a number of words which are manifestly either derived from these languages or come from the same original source. But besides the fact that the body of individual Siamese words is totally different from the body of Annamese words (a fact which, as we see in the case of Korean and Japanese, is by no means incompatible with identity of grammatical construction), Siamese has always been subject to Indian, Burmese, Peguan, and Cambodian influences, and has borrowed largely from those polysyllabic tongues, whilst Annamese has been subjected to Chinese influences alone. Hence we find that Siamese has found it quite convenient to adopt an alphabet, and to mark the tones by a series of new letters and diacritical marks,—in other words to combine the genius of monosyllability and tones with that of polysyllability and *recto tono*; whilst Annamese, remaining purely monosyllabic, has found pure Chinese characters for pure Chinese words and bastard Chinese characters for pure Annamese words amply sufficient for its literary purposes.

According to M. Landes there are 1,600 syllables in Annamite, not counting the tones. This is double the number of syllables in the present Chinese dialects, not counting the tones; and it may safely be assumed that, of the 1,600, only 800 are pure Annamite. It is a very marvellous fact, however, that, as above stated, the intonations given to Chinese words correspond with those given to Annamite words. I have very carefully examined M. Petrusky with a view to arriving at an explanation of this very singular fact. It appears that, before the missionaries invented the *quoc ngu* or romanized Annamese script, the Annamese considered that they had three classes of tones, the 平 the 中 and the 仄. Thus the upper and lower even tones (marked by the missionaries *ma*, *mà*) were 上 平 and 下 平. The upper and lower rising tones (marked by the missionaries *má*, *mǎ*) were 上 中 and 下 中 (i.e. "midway" between even (*bính*) and uneven (*trắc*). The upper and lower departing tones (marked by the missionaries) *mā*, *mǎ* were 上 仄 and 下 仄. The intonations of the upper and lower entering tones (also marked by the missionaries *mác*, *mạc*) were never distinguished by the

Annamese from the last two; and, although they followed the Chinese rules, and kept the distinction for poetical purposes, they never seem to have understood what was meant by the 入聲; and the fact that they never seem to have understood it seems to prove that they must have adopted their Chinese from Canton, *where alone* the intonations of the two 去 and the two 入 are identical, and are only differentiated by the fact that the 去 end in *m, n, ng*, or a vowel, and the 入 in *p, t, or k*. If the Annamites had had any knowledge of other Chinese dialects, where the intonation or intonations given to the 入 corresponds or correspond with other tones, sometimes 平, sometimes 上, sometimes the two 去 in reversed order, or where the intonation of the 入 has an independent existence of its own, the Annamites would not have failed to distinguish eight instead of six tones; nor, if the first missionaries had known Chinese, would they have placed the *quoc ngu* tonal marks upon so unscientific a basis.

Annamite throws light upon a peculiarity in Cantonese which has never been explained, namely the division of the upper entering tone into 上入 (*mak*), and 中入 (*mak_o*). This famous distinction is treated of at length in Eitel's Dictionary and Ball's Vocabulary. Now, the intonation of the 下 去 and 下 入 is the same in both Cantonese and Annamite, whilst the intonation of the 上 去 and 上 入 is also the same in both those languages *if we consider the 中 入 to be the standard and the 上 入 to be a bastard offshoot from it*. Instead, therefore, of saying that the upper entering tone in Cantonese is divided into 上 and 中, it would be more correct to say that the upper entering tone in Cantonese is divided into 上 (properly corresponding with the 去 which is also a 仄) and the 二 上 (improperly corresponding with the 上 平), and this without prejudice to the fact that both have in addition a 變音 or "vulgar sub-division." This point is well worth the careful attention of sound Cantonese scholars.

Thus, just as the length of the modern Korean vowels has thrown unexpected light upon the meaning of Foochow tonal inflection, so we find that Annamite throws light upon the meaning of Canton tonal sub-division. In other words, we have advanced one more step in the direction of finding out what the purest ancient Chinese standard was.

With regard to the meaning of the two Annamite words *chu nom* (pronounced almost like *kyê nom*) or "bastard Annamite characters," it appears that the word *chu* is the native Annamite word having the same meaning as the Chinese Annamite word *tu* (字, pronounced like *tī* or *tê*). The two bastard characters are written 𣎵喃, and the second is a corruption of the word *nam* "South." This fact illustrates a number of things. 1. The invariable Annamite (and Siamese) rule that the adjective do follow the noun,—thus *tsz nam*, instead of *nam tsz*, "characters of the southern (realm)." 2. The fact that many Annamite words (like many Japanese words) shew signs of having either come from the same ancient stock as Chinese, or of having been adopted into colloquial and modified to a degree more considerable than is the case with recognized Chinese adopted words. 3. The principle on which the *chu nom* are invented,—partly ideographic, partly phonetic. In short, like the early Japanese, the Annamese at first found it difficult to make up their minds how far the Chinese characters should be used strictly as such; how far as synonyms; how far as mere syllables; and how far as a mixture of all three. The Si Vuong who is supposed to have forced upon the Annamese the study of Chinese is the 仕王 or 仕王仙 of the Annamese 四字經. The Annamite rhyming history 大南國史演歌, which has a Chinese running commentary, says that the person in question was surnamed 士 with cognomen 變, and that he was a native of 廣信 in 蒼梧; that in his youth he went to study at the capital of the Chinese Hans (Loh-yang), and was appointed to be prefect of 交州 (in Tonquin). When the Chinese Go or Wu dynasty succeeded (Nanking and Wu-chang), Shī Sieh sent his son to Court as a hostage, paid annual tribute, and received a marshal's bâton. He ruled at the city of 廩陵, the present 超類縣. M. Petrusky, in his excellent grammar, says: "Tout porte à croire que les Annamites avaient une " espèce d'écriture phonétique, remplacée par celle qui fut imposée de " force par les ordonnances du roi lettré (Si Vuong)." He informs me, however, that he is not aware of the existence of any evidence in support of what he only intended to be a suggestion; nor can he recollect the date of the introduction of the *chu nom*, or the name of the introducer, [though he says that one of the history books gives the date and the name of the introducer] of the 俗字. M. Hwang Tsing (Paulus Cua).

is also unable clear up this doubt. A little Annamese book called the 初學問津 says that under the Eastern Han, one 士王 did teach the people (Chinese) letters 教民文字. The corresponding vulgar Annamite words are 哦氏字變. And the Annamese book called the 啓童說約 says that at Ch'ao-lei city, the above-mentioned capital of Si Vuong, there is still a temple, with a tablet bearing the ancient inscription 南交學祖, and that "our taste for literature began with him," 我越有文風之習始於此.

M. Landes very truly observes that, if the Annamite sovereigns had given an impulse to the study of their national idiom, there would have been an Annamite as well as a Chinese orthography, and suggests that in ancient times there was probably the same want of certainty with Chinese,—a suggestion supported by the state in which we find the oldest classics. I am disposed to agree with the opinion ably expressed upon page 125 of the paper under notice that the earliest missionaries might have done better if they had, by the light of alphabetical knowledge which they possessed, so improved the *chu nom* that the Annamite language would have preserved the advantages of ideographic script whilst acquiring, by a judicious arrangement of radicals and phonetics, the advantages of syllabic script, instead of inflicting upon the Annamese people the *quoc ngu*, or *chu quoc ngu* [國語字]. As to the question which has arisen between M. Landes and M. Aymonin, whether, seeing that the *quoc ngu* with all its "bars," "beards," and other hideous diacritical and tonal marks, has a widespread existence, it is worth while to substitute a clearer alphabetical script, it does not appear to me to be of any but philological importance. For philological purposes it is highly desirable to know the relative values of a system of letters which produces such an eyesore as Tru'o'ng Viñh-ký, especially when it turns out that, in practice and actual result, the above strange combination is positively pronounced, in Tonquin at least, exactly like the corresponding Cantonese words which in Williams' system, we write Chéung "Wing-ki". Some time or other it may be worth while to go into this question, and reduce the whole *quoc ngu* system to a common denominator such as most of the Chinese dialects are now supplied with. Meanwhile, as the Saïgon Imprimerie has been good enough to furnish me with a few *quoc ngu* types, I give a list of a few sounds as

they really are, when compared with Korean (*Grammaire Française*) or Chinese (Williams' Canton, Baldwin's Foochow) sounds : but I have not sufficient type to mark properly all the Annamese words used above.

The bearded *u*, namely *u* is pronounced like the Korean *eu*

“ “ *o* “ *σ* “ “ “ “ *e*

“ “ *uo* “ *U O* are “ “ “ Canton *éu*

“ *ay* is “ “ “ *ai*

“ *ai* “ “ “ *ái*

“ *o* is pronounced like Foochow *ò* (almost like *a*)

“ *ô* “ “ Canton *ò* (Wade's *ou*)

“ *e* “ “ “ *é* (Wade's *eh*)

“ *ê* “ “ the *e* in English *send*.

“ barred *d*, namely *đ* is pronounced like an English *d*.

“ unbarred *d* is pronounced variously *y*, *z*, *j*, *r*, or a mixture of all.

S and *x* are much confused; neither is a pure *s*, but both are soft sibilants, the second being rather aspirated. *R* sounds as an initial like *rj*.

JIUJUTSU (柔術).

THE OLD SAMURAI ART OF FIGHTING WITHOUT WEAPONS.

BY REV. T. LINDSAY AND J. KANO.

[*Read April 18th, 1888.*]

In feudal times in Japan, there were various military arts and exercises by which the Samurai classes were trained and fitted for their special form of warfare.

Amongst these was the art of Jiujutsu, from which the present Jiudo (柔道) has sprung up.

The word Jiujutsu may be translated freely as the art of gaining victory by yielding or pliancy. Originally, the name seems to have been applied to what may best be described as the art of fighting without weapons, although in some cases short weapons were used against opponents fighting with long weapons. Although it seems to resemble wrestling, yet it differs materially from wrestling as practised in England, its main principle being not to match strength with strength, but to gain victory by yielding to strength.

Since the abolition of the Feudal System the art has for some time been out of use, but at the present time it has become very popular in Japan, though with some important modifications, as a system of athletics, and its value as a method for physical training has been recognised by the establishment of several schools of Jiujutsu and Jiudo in the capital.

We shall first give an historical sketch of Jiujutsu, giving an account of the various schools to which it has given rise, and revert briefly in the sequel to the form into which it has been developed at the present time.

Jiujutsu has been known from feudal times under various names, such as Yawara, Taijutsu, Kogusoku, Kempo and Hakuda. The names Jiujutsu and Yawara were most widely known and used.

In tracing the history of the art, we are met at the outset with difficulties which are not uncommon in similar researches,—the unreliableness of much of the literature of the art.

Printed books on the subject are scarce, and whilst there are innumerable manuscripts belonging to various schools of the art, many of them are contradictory and unsatisfactory. The originators of new schools seem oftentimes to have made history to suit their own purposes, and thus the materials for a consistent and clear account of the origin and rise of Jiujutsu are very scanty. In early times, the knowledge of the history and the art was in the possession of the teachers of the various schools, who handed down information to their pupils as a secret in order to give it a sacred appearance.

Moreover, the seclusion of one province from another, as a consequence of the Feudal System of Japan, prevented much acquaintance between teachers and pupils of the various schools, and thus contrary and often contradictory accounts of its history were handed down and believed. Further, it is to be noted that the interest of its students was devoted more to success in the practice of the art than to a knowledge of its rise and progress in the country.

Turning to the *origin of Jiujutsu*, as is to be expected various accounts are given.

In the *Bugei Shō-den* (武藝小傳), which is a collection of brief biographies of eminent masters of the different arts of fighting practised in feudal times,—accounts are given of *Kogusoku* (小具足) and *Ken* (拳), which is equivalent to *Kempō* (拳法); these two being distinguished from each other, the former as the art of *seizing* and the latter as the art of *gaining victory by pliancy*. The art of *Kogusoku* is ascribed to Takenouchi, a native of Sakushiu. It is said that in the first year of Tenbun, 1532, a sorcerer came unexpectedly to the house of Takenouchi and taught him *five methods* of seizing a man; he then went off and he could not tell whither he went.

The origin of the art of *Ken* is stated thus :—There came to Japan from China a man named *Chingempin*, who left that country

after the fall of the *Min* dynasty, and lived in Kokushôji (a Buddhist temple) in Azabu in Yedo, as Tôkyô was then called. There also in the same temple lived three rônins, Fukuno, Isogai and Miura. One day Chingempin told them that in China there was an art of seizing a man, which he had seen himself practised but had not learned its principles. On hearing this, these three men made investigations and afterwards became very skilful.¹

The origin of *Jiu*, which is equivalent to Jiujutsu, is traced to these three men, from whom it spread throughout the country. In the same account the principles of the art are stated, and the following are their free translations :

- (1) Not to resist an opponent, but to gain victory by *pliancy*.
- (2) Not to aim at frequent victory.
- (3) Not to be led into scolding (bickering) by keeping the mind (empty) composed and calm.
- (4) Not to be disturbed by things.
- (5) Not to be agitated under any emergency but to be tranquil.

And for all these, rules for respiration are considered important.

In the *Bujutsu rin soroku* (武術流祖録), a book of biographies of the originators of different schools of the arts of Japanese warfare, exactly the same account is given of the origin of Kogusoku, and a similar account of Jiujutsu; and it is also stated that the time in which Miura lived was about 1560.

In the *Chinomaki*, a certificate given by teachers of the Kitô school to their pupils, we find a brief history of the art and its main principles as taught by that school.

In it, reference is made to a writing dated the 11th year of Kuanbun (1671).

According to it there was once a man named Fukuno who studied the art of fighting without weapons and so excelled in the art that he defeated people very much stronger than himself. The art at first did not spread to any great extent: but two of his pupils became especially noted, who were founders of separate schools, named *Miura* and *Terada*.

¹Although the statement refers to an art of *seizing* a man, what is really there meant, we believe, is an art of kicking and striking an opponent.

The art taught by Miura was named *Wa* (which is equivalent to *Yawara*), and the art taught by Terada was named *Jiu* (which is equivalent to *Jiu-jutsu*).

The date of the period in which Fukuno flourished is not mentioned in the certificate quoted above, but it is seen from the date in another manuscript that it must have been before the eleventh year of Kuanbun (1671).

The *Owari meisho dzu* (尾張名所圖畫) gives an account of Chingempin. According to it Chingempin was a native of Korinken in China, who fled to Japan in order to escape from the troubles at the close of the Min Dynasty. He was cordially received by the prince of Owari, and there died at the age of 85 in 1671, which is stated to be the date on his tombstone in Kenchūji in Nagoya. In the same book a passage is quoted from Kenpōhisho (拳法秘書) which relates that when Chingempin lived in Kokushōji in Azabu, the three ronins Fukuno, Isogai and Miura also lived there, and Chingempin told them that in China there was an art of seizing a man and that he had seen it; that it was of such and such a nature. Finally these three men, after hearing this, investigated the art and as a result, the school of the art called *Kitōriu* was founded.

In a book called the *Sen tetsu so dan* (先哲叢談), which may be considered one of the authorities on this subject, it is stated that Chingempin was born probably in the 15th year of Banreki according to Chinese chronology, that is in 1587; that he met at Nagoya, a priest named Gensei in the 2nd year of Manji, that is in 1659, with whom he became very intimate. They published some poems under the title *Gen Gen Shō Washū* (元元唱和集).

In another book named *Kiryū shō ran* (嬉遊笑覧) it is related that Chingempin came to Japan in the 2nd year of Manji (1659).

Again it is generally understood that Shunsui (舜水), a famous Chinese scholar, came to Japan on the fall of the Min dynasty in the 2nd year of Manji (1659).

From these various accounts it seems evident that Chingempin flourished in Japan some time after the second year of Manji, in 1659. So that the statement of the *Bujutsu rinso-roku* that Miura flourished in the time of Eiroku must be discredited. It is evident

from the accounts already given that Chingempin flourished at a later period, and that Miura was his contemporary.

There are other accounts of the origin of *Jiujutsu* given by various schools of the art, to which we must now turn.

The account given by the school named *Yō shinriu* is as follows :—

This school was begun by *Miura Yōshin*, a physician of Nagasaki in Hizen. He flourished in the early times of the Tokugawa Shoguns. Believing that many diseases arose from not using mind and body together, he invented some methods of *Jiujutsu*. Together with his two medical pupils he found out 21 ways of seizing an opponent and afterwards found out 51 others. After his death his pupils founded two separate schools of the art, one of them naming his school *Yōshinriu*, from *Yōshin* his teacher's name : the other named his school *Miurariu*, also from his teacher's name.

The next account is that of a manuscript named *Tenjin Shinyōriu Taiiroku*. In it there occurs a conversation between Iso Mataemon, the founder of the *Tenjin Shinyōriu*, and Terasaki, one of his pupils. The origin of *Jiujutsu* is related thus : There once lived in Nagasaki a physician named Akiyama, who went over to China to study medicine. He there learned an art called *Hakuda*, which consisted of *kicking and striking*, differing, we may note, from *Jiujutsu*, which is mainly seizing and throwing.

Akiyama learned three methods of this *Hakuda* and 28 ways of recovering a man from apparent death. When he returned to Japan, he began to teach this art, but as he had few methods, his pupils got tired of it, and left him.

Akiyama, feeling much grieved on this account, went to the *Tenjin* shrine in *Tsukushi* and there worshipped for 100 days.

In this place he discovered 803 different methods of the art. What led to this is equally curious. One day during a snow storm he observed a willow tree whose branches were covered with snow. Unlike the pine tree which stood erect and broke before the storm, the willow *yielded* to the weight of snow on its branches, but did not break under it. In this way, he reflected *Jiujutsu* must be practised. So he named his school *Yōshin-riu*, the spirit of the willow-tree-school.

In the *Taiiroku* it is denied that Chingempin introduced Jiu-jutsu into Japan—but whilst affirming that Akiyama introduced some features of the art from China, it adds, "it is a shame to our country" to ascribe the origin of Jiu-jutsu to China. In this opinion we ourselves concur. It seems to us that the art is Japanese in origin and development for the following reasons.

- (1) An art of defence without weapons is common in all countries in a more or less developed state, and in Japan the feudal state would necessarily develop Jiu-jutsu.
- (2) The Chinese *Kempō* and Japanese Jiu-jutsu differ materially in their methods.
- (3) The existence of a similar art is referred to, before the time of Chingempin.
- (4) The unsatisfactoriness of the accounts given of its origin.
- (5) The existence of Japanese wrestling from very early times, which in some respects resembles Jiu-jutsu.
- (6) As Chinese arts and Chinese civilization were highly esteemed by the Japanese, in order to give prestige to the art, Jiu-jutsu may have been ascribed to a Chinese origin.
- (7) In ancient times teachers of the different branches of military arts, such as fencing, using the spear, etc., seem to have practised this art to some extent.

In support of this position, we remark first that Jiu-jutsu, as practised in Japan, is not known in China. In that country there is the art before referred to called *Kempō*, and from the account of it in a book named "*Kikōshinsho*" (紀効新書), it seems to be a method of kicking and striking.

But *Jiu-jutsu* involved much more, as has been already made clear. Besides, a student in China, according to the books of instruction, is expected to learn and practise the art by himself, whilst in Jiu-jutsu it is essential that two men shall practise together.

Even although we admit that Chingempin may have introduced *Kempō* to Japan, it is extremely difficult to look upon Jiu-jutsu as in any sense a development of *Kempō*. Besides, if Chingempin had been skilled in the art, it is almost certain that he would have referred to it in his book of poems which, along with Gensei the priest with whom

he became intimate at the castle of Nagoya, he published under their joint names as the Gengenshōwashū. Yet there is no reference in any of his writings to the art.

Apart from Chingempin, the Japanese could learn something of the art of Kempō as practised in China from books named *Bubishi* (武備志), *Kikōshinsho*, etc. We believe then that Jiu-jutsu is a Japanese art, which could have been developed to its present perfection without any aid from China, although we admit that Chingempin, or some Chinese book in Kempō may have given a stimulus to its development. Having thus discussed in a brief way the origin of Jiu-jutsu, and what Jiu-jutsu is in a general way, we shall now turn to the different schools and the differences which are said to exist between the several names of the art mentioned above. It is impossible to enumerate all the schools of Jiu-jutsu; we might count by hundreds, because almost all the teachers who have attained some eminence in the art have originated their own schools. But it is not possible, and also not in our way to describe them all or even to enumerate them. We shall be satisfied here by referring to some of the most important on account of the principles taught, and the large number of pupils they have attracted.

1. *Kitōriu* (起倒流) or *Kitō School*. This School is said to have been originated by Terada Kan-emon. The time when he flourished is not given in any authoritative book or manuscript, but we may say he flourished not very long after Fukuno, because it is stated both in the Chinomaki of the Kitō school, and in the Bujutsu ruisoroku that he learnt the art from another Terada, who was a pupil of Fukuno, although there are opinions contradictory to this statement. Among the celebrated men of this school may be mentioned Yoshimura, Hotta, Takino, Gamō, Imabori; and of late Takenaka, Noda, Iikubo, Yoshida and Motoyama, of whom the two last are still living.

2. *Kiushinriu* was originated by Inugami Nagakatsu. His grandson Inugami Nagayasu, better known as Inugami Gunbei, attained great eminence in the art and so developed it that he has been called in later times the originator of Kiushinriu. There is great similarity in the principles of the Kitōriu and Kiushinriu.

The resemblance is so close, that we suppose the latter has been derived from the former. It is also said that in the second year of Kiôhó (1717) Inugami studied Kitôriu under Takino. This must of course be one of the reasons why they are so similar. Among those who were famous in this school may be mentioned Ishino Tsukamoto and Eguchi.

3. *Sekiguchi Jûshin* was an originator of another school. His school was called *Sekiguchi riu*, after him. He had three sons, all of whom became famous in the art. Shibukawa Bangoro, who studied the art from his first son Sekiguchi Hachirozaemon, became the founder of another great school of Jiu-jutsu known after him as the *Shibukawariu*. *Sekiguchi Jûshin* of the present time is a descendant of the originator (being of the ninth generation from him).

Shibukawa Bangoro, the 8th descendant of the originator of Shibukawariu is now teaching his art at Motomachi in Hongo in Tôkyô.

4. Another School we should mention is the *Yôshinriu*. As has been stated above, there are two different accounts of the origin of this school. But on examining the manuscripts and the methods of those two schools, one of which traces the originator to Miura Yôshin and the other to Akiyama Shirobei, the close resemblances of the accounts lead to the belief that both had a common origin.

The representative of *Yoshinriu* of Miura Yoshin at present is Totsuka Eibi, who is now teaching at Chiba, a place near Tôkyô. His father was Totsuka Hikosuke, who died but two years ago. This man was one of the most celebrated masters of the art of late years. His father Hikoyemon was also very famous in the time he flourished. He studied his art under Egami Kuanriu, who made a profound investigation of the subject and was called the originator of *Yôshinriu* in later times. This man is said to have died in 1795. Another famous master of this school was Hitotsuyanagi Oribe. The *Yôshinriu* art which this man studied is the one which is said to have come from Akiyama.

5. Next comes *Tenjin shinyōriū*. This School was originated by Iso Mataemon, who died but twenty-six years ago. He first studied Yōshinriū under Hitotsuyanagi Oriye and then Shin no Shintō riū (one of the schools of Jiu-jutsu which has developed out of Yōshin riū) from Homma Jōyemon. He then went to different parts of the country to try his art with other masters, and finally formed a school of his own and named it Tenjin Shinyōriū. His school was at Otamagaike in Tōkyō. His name spread throughout the country and he was considered the greatest master of the time. His son was named Iso Mataichirō. He became the teacher of Jiu-jutsu in a school founded by one of the Tokugawa Shoguns for different arts of warfare. Among the famous pupils of Mataemon may be mentioned Nishimura, Okada, Yamamoto, Matsunaga and Ichikawa.

We have mentioned different names, such as Jiu-jutsu, Yawara, Tai-jutsu, Kempō, Hakuda, Kogusoku. They are sometimes distinguished from one another, but very often applied to the art generally. For the present, without entering into detailed explanations of those names, we shall explain in a concise way what is the thing itself which these names come respectively to stand for.

Jiu-jutsu is an art of fighting without weapons and sometimes with small weapons much practised by the Samurai, and less generally the common people in the times of the Tokugawas.

There are various ways of gaining victory, such as throwing heavily on the ground; choking up the throat; holding down on the ground or pushing to a wall in such a way that an opponent cannot rise up or move freely; twisting or bending arms, legs or fingers in such a way that an opponent cannot bear the pain, etc.

There are various schools, and some schools practise all these methods and some only a few of them. Besides these, in some of the schools special exercises, called Atemi and Kuatsu, are taught. *Atemi* is the art of striking or kicking some of the parts of the body in order to kill or injure the opponents. *Kuatsu*, which means to resuscitate, is an art of resuscitating those who have apparently died through violence.

The most important principle of throwing as practised was to

disturb the centre of gravity of the opponent, and then pull or push in a way that the opponent cannot stand, exerting skill rather than strength, so that he might lose his equilibrium and fall heavily to the ground. A series of rules was taught respecting the different motions of feet, legs, arms, hands, the thigh and back, in order to accomplish this object. Choking up the throat was done by the hands, fore-arms, or by twisting the collar of the opponent's coat round the throat. For holding down and pushing, any part of the body was used. For twisting and bending, the parts employed were generally the arms, hands and fingers, and sometimes the legs.

The *Kuatsu* or art of resuscitating is considered a secret; generally only the pupils and those who have made some progress in the art receive instruction. It has been customary with those schools where *Kuatsu* is taught for teachers to receive a certain sum of money for teaching. And the pupils were to be instructed in the art after taking an oath that they never reveal the art to any one, even to parents and brothers.

The methods of *Kuatsu* are numerous and differ greatly in the different schools. The simplest is that for resuscitating those who have been temporarily suffocated by choking up the throat. There are various methods for doing this, one of which is to embrace the patient from the back and placing those edges of the palms of both hands which are opposite the thumb to the lower part of the abdomen to push it up towards the operator's own body with those edges. The other kinds of *Kuatsu* are such as recovering those who have fallen down from great heights and those who have been strangled, those who had been drowned, those who had received severe blows, etc. For these more complicated methods are employed.

STORIES OF FAMOUS JIUJUTSU TEACHERS.

About 200 years ago there was a famous teacher of Jiu-jutsu named Sekiguchi Jūshin, who was a retainer of the lord of Kishiu. One day while they were crossing a bridge in the prince's courtyard, his lord, in order to test his skill, gradually pushed him nearer and nearer to the edge of the bridge until, just as he attempted to overbalance

him, Sekiguchi, slipping round, turned to the other side and caught his lord who, losing his balance in the attempt, was about to fall into the water, and taking hold of the prince, said, 'you must take care.' Upon which the prince felt very much ashamed.

Some time afterward, another of the lord's retainers blamed Sekiguchi for taking hold of the prince, for, said he, if he had been an enemy, he could have had time to kill you. Then Sekiguchi told him that the same thought had also crossed his own mind, and that when he caught hold of his lord, although it was a very rude thing, he had stuck his *kozuka* (small knife) through his sleeve and left it there to show that he could have had time to stab him had he been his enemy, instead of his master.

During the year Kwan-yei there was a festival of Hachimangu at Fukui in Echizen. Skilful teachers of various military arts had gathered there from different parts of the country, and Yagiu Tajimano-kami, a famous master, was appointed umpire of the sports. As Yagiu was a very famous man, many visitors came to see him, and amongst them there was one friend with whom he began to play at *go* on the day before that appointed for the sports. They continued their play all day and all night, and when the appointed time came for beginning the sports, Yagiu did not appear, being still intent on his game of *go*.

The Prince of Echizen became very angry and threatened to punish Yagiu, and hearing this, one of his retainers set off on horseback to persuade Yagiu to be present in the place. When he reached the place he saw the players still engaged, and artfully proposed to join in the game. After a time, as if by accident, he mixed up the pieces on the board, and then reminded Yagiu of his appointment as umpire. Yagiu thereupon mounted the horse which had brought the retainer and galloped off to the field.

While engaged as umpire, another famous Jiu-jutsu teacher came up and offered to fight him. He declined on the ground that he was there as umpire. Still the man continued to urge him and suddenly tried to pull him down. Yagiu in a moment seized him, turned him over and threw him with great force on the ground, and so ended the attempt to overthrow Yagiu.

Terada Goemon was another noted man. He lived in Tōkyō some 40 years ago, and one day while passing the Suidobashi near Hongo, he fell in with the procession of the Prince of Mito. The *Sakibarai* (attendants) of the Prince, while making way for the procession ordered Terada to kneel down, which he refused to do, saying that a Samurai of his rank did not require to kneel unless the Prince's *Kago* would come nearer. The *Sakibarai*, however, persisted in their endeavours to force him to kneel, and five or six attempted to throw him down, but he freed himself and threw them all to the ground. Many other retainers then came about him crying, "kill him, kill him," but he threw them all down and seized their *jittei* (short iron rods) and ran over to the Prince's *Yashiki* saying, I am a samurai of such and such rank, and it is against the dignity of my prince that I should kneel down; I am very sorry that I had to throw your men down, but I had to do it to preserve my dignity, and here are the *jittei* which I return to you. The Prince was so much pleased that he asked Terada to enter into his service, but he preferred to remain with his own prince and so refused the offer.

Inugami Gunbei was a famous teacher of the Kiu Shin school.

One day he met Onogawa Kisaburo, the most famous wrestler of the time, in a tea-house. They began to drink *sake* together and Onogawa boasted of his powers to Inugami.

Inugami said, that even a great wrestler with stout muscles and stentorian voice might not be able to defeat this old man, referring to himself.

Then the wrestler became angry and proposed they should go out to the courtyard for a trial.

Onogawa then took hold of Inugami saying, can you escape? Of course, he replied, if you do not hold me more tightly. Then Onogawa embraced him more firmly—and repeated his question, receiving the same answer. He did this three times and when Inugami said, can you do no more, Onogawa, relaxing his grip but a little to take a firmer hold, was in a moment pitched over by Inugami on to the ground. This he did twice. Onogawa was so much surprised that he became Inugami's pupil.

RECENT DEVELOPMENT OF JIUJUTSU.

There are now over 30 schools in Tōkyō representing the various schools of feudal times, but of these two are specially worthy of notice on account of the methods employed and the large attendance of pupils.

One of these is the school of Mr. J. Kano of the Gakushuin (Noble's school).

He first studied under Iso and Fukuda of the Tenjin Shinyo school and then studied the principles of the Kitō school under a celebrated teacher named Iikubo.

After having acquired the art in this way, Mr. Kano made investigations into the history of the art, collecting manuscripts from all sources within his reach, comparing the various principles taught, until after much research and labour he elaborated an eclectic system of the art which now bears the name of Jiudo.

In feudal times the old form of Jiujujutsu was mainly learned for fighting purposes. In this recent school it is developed into a system of athletics and mental and moral training.

In this school daily instruction is carried on by means of lectures on the theory of Jiudo, by discussion among the pupils and by actual practice.

In Jiujujutsu as formerly taught, the art of pliancy, as it has been called, the *practice* of the art was of most importance: in Jiudo, which is an investigation of the laws by which one may gain by yielding, *practice* is made subservient to the *theory*, although when studied as a system of athletics, *practice* plays a more important part.

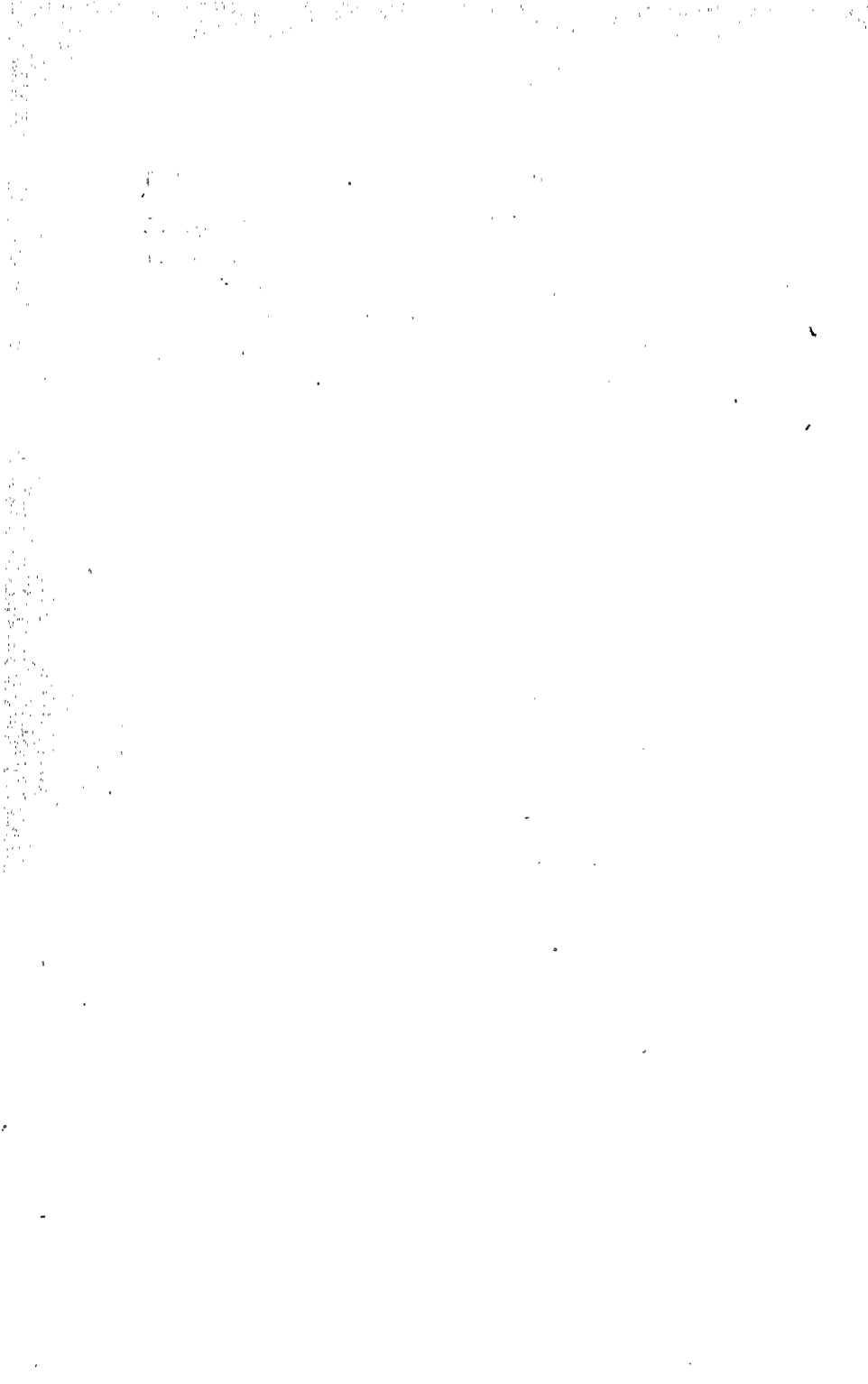
Saigo, Yamada, Yamashita and Yokoyama are the most celebrated of the pupils of this school.

In the *Police Department* of Tokyo all the police are obliged to study this art.

The method of instruction was quite of the old style until a few years ago, when at a meeting of teachers and pupils of the various schools in Tōkyō, the pupils of Mr. Kano so distinguished themselves that the Department resolved to adopt the methods of the art of Mr. Kano's school, and in 1879 appoint Jiudo teachers from among his pupils, named Yokoyama and Matsuno. In addition to these teachers

there are also Hisatomi Suzuki, Nakamura, Uyehara and Kanaya, all of whom may be considered as the present representatives of many of the important schools of Jiu-jutsu now existing in Japan.

In addition to the work of Judo as a system of athletics, it is also to be considered, as has been noted, a means of mental and moral training, and to this reference will be made in a future paper.



CHRISTIAN VALLEY.

By J. M. DIXON, Esq., M. A., F. R. S. E.

[Read June 6th, 1888.]

At the northern end of Tōkyō, in the district known as Koishikawa, lies the valley of Myogadani—Ginger Valley,—whose southern end opens out on the banks of the Yedōgawa. It is a narrow valley with precipitious sides, and for the most of its length runs almost due north and south. Here for many years, from 1709–1715, was imprisoned an Italian priest, the sole representative of his race and religion in the islands of Japan. An account of his arrest on the shores of the province of Osumi, and of his cruel journey to the capital,—a journey which cost him the use of his limbs from close confinement in the *norimono*—will be found in an earlier number of the Transactions of this Society, vol. iv, page 156. For an abridged account, giving in addition the sequel of his own and his jailors' deaths, readers may consult the *Chrysanthemum* magazine for September, 1882. I wish here to give a few amplifications of the story, being specially interested in the spot and its associations. My residence happens to be within a stone's throw of the enclosure where Père Baptiste Sidotti lived and died, and I have to pass daily by a headstone which marks the grave either of the priest or of one of the Christian residents of the valley.

In the year¹ 1702 a Sicilian priest, a man of good family, left the shores of Italy in the suite of the papal legate Maillard de Tournon, whom Pope Clement XI was sending on a mission to China. The party arrived in a French man-of-war at Pondichéry in the year 1704, having embarked on board this vessel in the Canary Islands. Here Father Sidotti, whose destination from the beginning had been Japan, parted

¹ I follow Charlevoix's history.

company with the legate and set out for Manila, a port which he reached in the year 1707. The two succeeding years he spent in studying the Japanese language, and in preparing for mission work. His intention of proceeding to Japan becoming known, many of the residents of Manila encouraged and aided him, and the Governor of the Philippines gave him the full measure of his support. Through private munificence a vessel was fitted out, and a captain of some reputation, Dom Miguel de Eloriaga, volunteered to command it, and promised to land the Father on Japanese soil. The offer was accepted, and in the month of August, 1709, all preparations being complete, the vessel left the harbour of Manila. The voyage seems to have been protracted, for the shores of Japan were not sighted until the 9th of October. The crew were making preparations to land their passenger, when they observed a vessel, manned by fishermen, close to the shore. They decided to approach this vessel in the small boat and enter into parley with the fishermen, employing for their purpose a Japanese who was in the service of the Governor of the Philippines and had undertaken to enter Japan with Father Siodotti and see him safely settled. The Japanese put off to the vessel and entered into conversation with the fishermen, but after a short time signalled to the ship not to approach. When he returned on board he reported that it would be eminently dangerous to land, for the priest was certain to be arrested and put to death with horrible tortures by the reigning prince, a cruel ruler. Father Siodotti, after a short time spent in prayer, declared his fixed intention of landing, notwithstanding all the terrors that might await him. The captain urged the fact upon him that his object was to make converts, not to die as a martyr, and that he had better seek some more favourable spot ; but to no purpose. Towards midnight, under cover of darkness, he prepared to quit the vessel. The parting scene was very touching. After writing some letters, he addressed the assembled crew, earnestly and tenderly exhorting them. He asked them to pardon his lack of diligence and care for their spiritual welfare, and ended by kissing the feet of all present, not only of the officers and seamen, but also of the slaves. The small boat then conveyed him ashore through a calm sea. On leaving it he kissed the earth and thanked God for having happily conducted him into a country which had for so long a time been the goal of his earthly

wishes. He then started inland, accompanied by some Spaniards, who carried a package for him. They had the curiosity to open this, and found that it contained a rosary, sacred oils, a breviary, the Imitation of Christ, some devotional works, two Japanese grammars, a crucifix, an image of the Virgin Mary and some stamps. Shortly afterwards they parted from him, having forced him to accept some gold pieces. Their return to the ship was not made without some difficulty from the rocks and sand-banks which lay in their way. Getting on board at eight in the morning, they set sail with a fair wind and entered Manila harbour on the 18th of October.

Such was the last that was seen of Father Sidotti by men of his own race and faith. To a Japanese author, Arai Hakuseki, we owe a full account of his subsequent life in this country. The first person whom he fell in with was a charcoal burner named Tobei, who ran to the nearest village to announce the arrival of a strange foreign-looking man. Two villagers returned with Tobei and found the foreigner where he had first been seen, apparently very weary. They took him to Tobei's house, and gave him something to eat, for which he offered gold, but this was refused. His language they could not understand; but his dress was that of a Japanese, the material a light blue cotton cloth with the four rectangles of the badge of Yotsume. His hair was also done up in Japanese style and he carried a long sword of Japanese make and ornamentation.

The officials of the lord of Satsuma took him first to Nagasaki, where he was examined. He expressed great dislike of the Dutch, who accordingly were not brought into his presence; but it was through the medium of a Dutch trader who knew a little Latin and spoke to him while hidden by a screen, that the Japanese learned his country and profession. A long journey to Yedo in a *norimono*, which he was not suffered to quit, crippled him, and he never afterwards regained the use of his limbs. He was imprisoned in Kirishitan Yashiki, Koishikawa.

The name "Christian Valley" had been applied to this place many years before the arrival of Father Sidotti. Mr. Satow, in a most interesting and valuable note appended to Mr. Gubbins' paper on the Introduction of Christianity into China and Japan (see vol. vi, pt. 1, p. 61), informs us that several Christian priests, who had abjured Christianity,

lived here under surveillance. One of these, an Italian named Giuseppe Chiara, became a proselyte of the head priest of *Muryō-In* Temple in Koishikawa, and lived to the advanced age of eighty-four. He had adopted the name and received the swords of Okamoto Sanyemon, a *samurai* who had been condemned to death, and he married the widow, so it is said, of another criminal. Chiara lies buried in the interesting old graveyard of the Temple, about half a mile distant from Christian Valley.

A visit to the Muryo-In graveyard will amply repay the curious visitor. The Temple, of insignificant proportions and dwarfed by the great Denzuin Temple topping the bluff to the south, lies among the rice-fields on the left of the road leading to the University Botanic Garden. The graveyard, however, is extensive and imposing, and the stones are in excellent preservation; indeed the condition of the grounds reflects credit on the staff of the Temple, who must bestow great pains in keeping them in their present condition. They form a striking contrast to the dilapidated precincts of the Denzuin temple close by, where Iyeyasu's mother is buried.

In a square enclosure, rubbing shoulders with other headstones, stands the tomb of Giuseppe Chiara. The pedestal measures 3 feet in height and is square in section; on the top rests a foreign hat carved in solid stone, measuring 5 ft. 7 in. round the brim, and 3 ft. 1 in. round the base of the crown. The height of the hat from the lowest portion of the rim to the apex is 10 in., and the rim itself is raised 7 in. above the top of the pedestal, which gives a total height of 4 ft. 5 in. The impression conveyed to a person when approaching, is as if a human being stood there, whose legs were sunk in the ground and whose hat had been pressed down on his shoulders. My companion in my first visit, who had full means of knowing, declared it to be a priest's hat, the opinion entertained by Mr. Satow, who noticed the resemblance to the hats of Jesuits as depicted in Montanus. In any case it is a unique piece of carving, pronouncedly foreign in its origin. As a countryman remarked who was passing as we photographed it, "That's a foreign boshi."

The inscription I have now to show you. The character at the top, of which I have taken a separate tracing, is a sacred Sanscrit sign, having the reading *Kiriku*; its signification is unknown to the resident

priest, but is said to signify *death*. The rest of the inscription is intelligible enough. "This man certainly entered into Paradise on the 5th day of the 2nd year of *Jokyo* (1685)." The priests have a tradition that another foreigner is buried in their graveyard, but they do not know exactly where. For further information on this point Mr. Satow's note may be again consulted. So much for this interesting tomb.

To return to Christian Valley where the dead priest spent the closing years of his life. Inquiries made among Japanese residents in the vicinity during the winter by one of my students resulted in the gathering together of the following facts and traditions:—

"Myogadani, the ordinary name, literally means 'Valley of Ginger.' The valley, they say, was so called because it was full of this plant a long time ago. But it is strange enough that the hill opposite Christian Slope has also the name Myogadani. Why the name was given also to a hill is almost inexplicable, and we cannot but think that the people applied the name quite unconsciously.

"In the valley of Myogadani lies a certain lot of ground called 'Kirishitan Yashiki,' which signifies 'the Christian Inclosure.' The name itself tells us that there were once some Christians living there. But whence they came, what they were doing there, or whither they went, remains a matter of conjecture. I was exceedingly desirous of knowing more minutely about the place. One morning I went to Fujidera (Demmyoji), a Buddhist temple in the valley, and told the master-priest all that I wished to know. He was an old and kind-hearted man, who, by his own account, had been living in the temple for above forty years, and therefore I thought his words were trustworthy enough. I received, however, but little satisfactory information from him. This must be due to the fact that few Buddhist priests care much about Christianity. I dare say, however, that all he told me differed little from the truth.

"The old priest related that the Tokugawa Shoguns persecuted Christians as cruelly as Nobunaga and Hideyoshi did before them. But the third Shogun, Iyemitsu, was wise enough to think it unjust to punish a man merely for believing in a religion which the Japanese had never known before. He was filled with the notion that Christianity might be better than other old religions, and desired to learn clearly the

nature of Christianity before criticising it. But fear of the people prevented him from openly declaring his opinion. So he secretly picked out four or five faithful Christians among the people, and gave them a part of Myogadani for their residence. Iyemitsu made them 'Dōshin,' a class of constables under the Tokugawa dynasty. Thus they were apparently low officers, but really representatives of Christianity, who engaged the earnest attention of the then ruler of Japan. We must not forget, however, that Christianity was as strictly prohibited as ever all throughout Japan.

"It is quite true that nothing can be kept secret for ever. It was not long before they were noticed by people not to be mere officers ; and they were soon discovered to be enthusiastic believers in the prohibited religion. Since then, their place of abode has been called 'Kirishitan-Yashiki.' A descent which leads to their houses from the main road of Takechō (the present Takehayacho) received the name 'Kirishitan-Zaka.' A part of the main street near their residence was called 'Doshin-chō,' from their official title.

"It is very uncertain how they all ended their lives, but tradition relates that the most pious and faithful of the Christians was murdered by a *samurai*. One dusky evening when this Christian was kneeling down on the ground to say his prayers, a murderer, with a drawn sword in his hand, approached the Christian from behind, and in a minute the latter lay dead. No one knew who the *samurai* was. The passenger will find a pyramidal stone, about three feet high, standing by the side of 'Kirishitan-Yashiki.' This is the tomb of the murdered Christian, which marks the place where he gave up the ghost. Very close to the tomb there is a small wooden bridge, 'Kōshimbashi' by name. Kōshin is one of the gods whom certain superstitious Japanese worship. The common people of that time believed that the Christian was not a man, but Kōshin, who clothed himself with flesh and appeared among men ; whence the name 'Kōshimbashi.' There are two bamboo tubes inserted in sockets in front of the tomb, which I have never found empty, but always full of flowers in bloom. No one knows who offer the flowers, but they must be either descendants of the Doshin Christians, or believers in Christianity, or worshippers of Kōshin.

"In the valley of Myogadani there are four or five Buddhist temples, none of which are very old. Demmyoji is the one nearest to 'Kirishitan-Yashiki,' and is said to have been built two hundred and ten years ago. It is commonly known as Fujidera, because the *Wisteria chinensis*, which the Japanese call *fuji*, grows abundantly in its precincts. The second oldest temple, called Toku-un-ji, is the largest of all. About the others there is nothing worthy of mention."

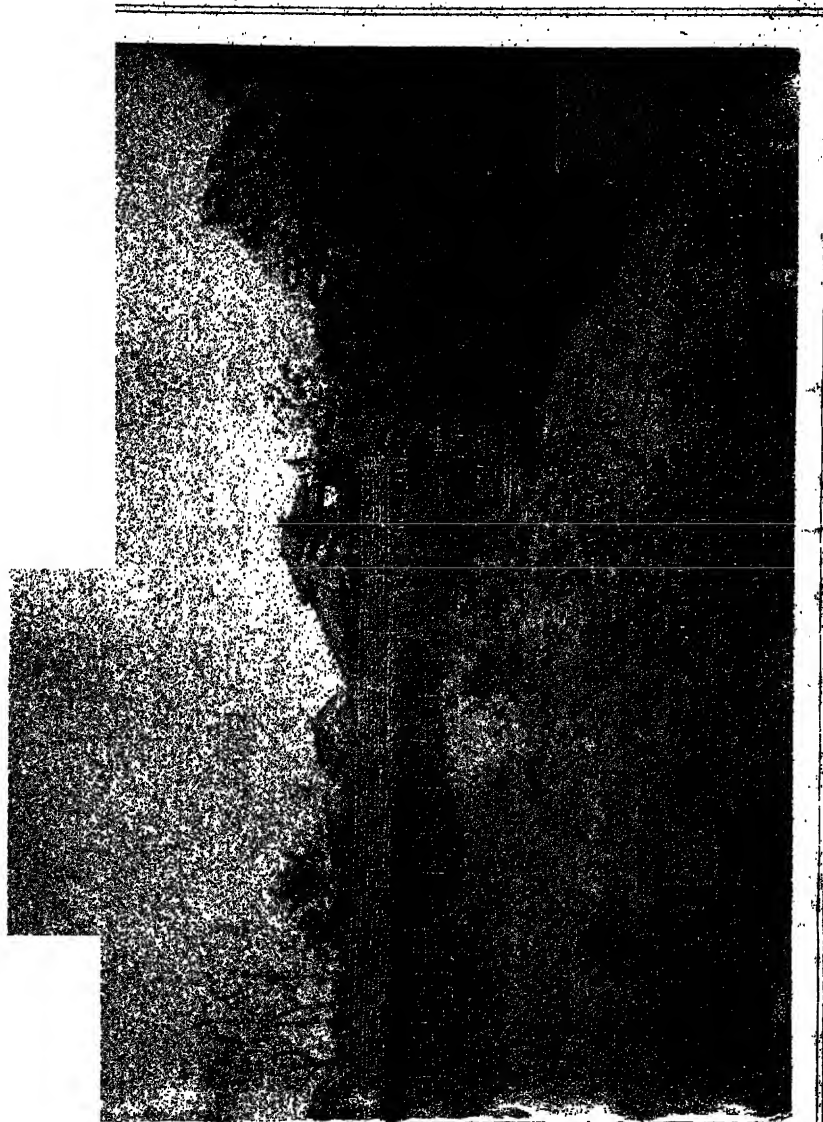
A few additions may be made to the above. Mr. Satow states that the stone is commonly reported to mark the resting-place of a Japanese convert named Hachibei, and the *Mikado's Empire* of Mr. Griffis (cap. xxv, page 262) contains the following interesting paragraph:—

"Tradition says that the abbé was buried in the opposite slope of the valley corresponding to that on which he lived, under an old pine-tree near a spring. Pushing my way through scrub bamboo along a narrow path, scarcely perceptible for the undergrowth, I saw a nameless stone near a hollow, evidently left by a tree that had long since fallen and rotted away. A little run of water issued from a spring hard by. At the foot was a rude block of stone, with a hollow for water. Both were roughly hewn, and scarcely dressed with the chisel. Such stones in Japan mark the graves of those who die in disgrace, or unknown or uncared for. This was all that was visible to remind the visitor of one whose heroic life deserved a nobler monument."

The valley has changed somewhat since Mr. Griffis published his invaluable work. No stream issues from beside the stone, the water of the spring having probably been deflected in order to fill the fish-ponds in the hollow beneath. Vague traditions are afloat in the neighbourhood regarding the miraculous nature and powers of this spring, which was credited with healing virtues in cases of blindness. It is now contained within the grounds of Mr. Tsukahara, a prominent official of the Agricultural Department, who purchased the land several years ago and now resides upon it. The whole neighbourhood is changing and becoming rapidly an integral part of the city. Within the past year more than a dozen houses have been built north of the well-kept lane which Mr. Griffis found a mere foot-path a dozen years ago. The topography of a spot so interesting to Europeans deserves some notice at a time when rapid changes are transforming the old capital of the *Shoguns* into the likeness

of a foreign city. The area of the city widens remarkably every year, and houses displace the bamboo thickets and rice-fields which formerly made the valleys green in the spring time and early summer. Consequently it is often difficult to identify places in the environs of Tōkyō from descriptions made only a few years back which were perfectly accurate at the time. The residence of these unfortunate exiles, isolated among a strange people, whose religion some of them embraced, but only after the sternest and cruellest compulsion, must ever retain a peculiar attraction for us, Europeans like them. Again, after the lapse of nearly two centuries, we become familiar with the same landscape and tread the same soil, but under conditions how different !

1. The Christian's Grave.



2. Christian Slope from the Christian's Grave, 1c



A LITERARY LADY OF OLD JAPAN.

BY THE LATE DR. T. A. PURCELL AND W. G. ASTON.

[Read June 20th, 1888.]

The ancient classical literature of Japan has hardly even yet¹ received the attention which it deserves. Indeed doubts are sometimes expressed whether the term "classical" is fairly applicable to it. But those who have actually made themselves acquainted with the works produced by Japanese authors from the 9th to the 12th century of our era will not have much hesitation in admitting their title to this epithet. The degree of purity and perfection which the language attained in the hands of writers of this period, and the elegance of their style, have been the admiration and despair of all succeeding native authors, who are continually lamenting the debased idiom of their own degenerate times.

The original impulse which awaked to life the genius of Japan came of course from China, and for several centuries the intellectual energies of the Japanese nation seem to have been engrossed in appropriating and assimilating the treasures of thought which had been amassed there for centuries. For most subjects Chinese was the literary language of the country, as Latin was for Europe during the middle ages, but there was one exception—belles-lettres. For the lighter literature the native language continued to be employed, and as the men occupied themselves chiefly with Chinese studies, the honourable task of maintaining the credit of the native literature devolved mainly on the women of Japan. How they responded to the call has been shown in another paper contributed to this society by one of the present writers.²

¹ This was written fourteen for fifteen years ago.—W. G. A.

² An Ancient Japanese Classic. Read 30th June, 1875.

Partly for this reason, and partly owing to the comparatively quiet and peaceful times of which it was the product, this old Japanese literature has an essentially feminine character. Gentleness and grace and a vein of playful humour are its chief characteristics. We look in vain for the bold, irregular flights of imagination, or for that rude, untutored vigour which we are accustomed to associate with the first literary efforts of a nation just emerging from barbarism. Instead of war and rapine, of deeds of daring and revenge, the gentler muse of Japan at this time loved to dwell on nature in her varied aspects, to watch the moon rising over the mountains, or to listen to the hum of insects in the dusk of summer evenings. Next to nature, the domestic affections hold a prominent place, and here, as elsewhere, love is chief. The writings of this period are a perfect mine of sentimental lore, and the ladies who wrote it as well as their fair readers must have been thorough adepts in what Cowley has called—

“ The politic arts.

To take and keep men's hearts ;
The letters, embassies, and spies,
The frowns, and smiles, and flatteries,
The quarrels, tears, and perjuries,
Numberless, nameless mysteries.”

Those who are acquainted with the popular literature of Japan in modern times may be surprised to learn that in these old books there is a marked absence of anything coarse or indelicate. The domestic life of the day is vividly reflected in some of them, but it is chiefly the Court and capital which are brought before us. Of the people at large we hear but little. The truth is that this literature was not the literature of the nation, but of a very narrow section of it which comprised the Court and a small cultivated circle closely connected with it. The rest of the nation was sunk in ignorance, though it enjoyed the blessings of peace under the paternal rule of the Mikados.

The usurpations of the Taikuns, the accession to power of the military class, and the continual civil wars which accompanied these changes, disturbed this fair scene of peaceful rule and literary culture. The capital was repeatedly destroyed, the courtiers were dispersed into exile in distant provinces, or lost their lives in the incessant conflicts

which took place, and their wealth and power fell into the hands of men who valued more a keen sword forged by Masamune, or a retainer who could wield it worthily, than the most perfect compositions of Hitomaro or Akahito. The literary class once dispersed, the absence of general culture in the nation prevented its place from being supplied, and to this day Japan has never again produced anything worthy of her ancient literary fame. The effects of the government by the military class are plainly visible in the crude and coarsely drawn scenes of war and revenge, of murder and suicide, of lust and violence which disfigure so much of the later literature, and may be easily traced by English readers in such works as Dickens' translation of the "Chiushingura," or Mitford's "Tales of Old Japan."

It is pleasant to turn back from these degenerate modern days to what were emphatically the good old times of Japan. Our author, Sei Shōnagon, had the fortune to live while they were still in their prime. She belonged to a distinguished family, being directly descended from a Mikado, and her learning and talents obtained for her the honour of being appointed Chief-Lady-in-Waiting to the Empress. Her stay at Court was not a long one. It ended with the death of her mistress in A.D. 1000. She then retired to a convent, where she spent the remainder of her days in peaceful seclusion, receiving to the last frequent marks of her former master's esteem. She amused her solitude by noting down reminiscences of her life at Court, to which she has added her observations and ideas on things in general, the whole forming a curious medley, to which its title, the *Makura no Sōshi*, or "Pillow Miscellany," is not inappropriate.

The following extracts will give some idea of the contents of this interesting work. The four seasons form the subject of the opening chapter:—

"In spring," the author says, "I love to watch the dawn grow gradually whiter and whiter till a faint rosy tinge crowns the mountain's crest, while slender streaks of purple cloud extend themselves above."

"In summer, I love the night, when the moon is shining, and the dark too, when the fireflies cross each other's paths in their flight, or when the rain is falling."

"In autumn, it is the beauty of the evening which most deeply moves me, as I watch the crows seeking their roosting-place in twos and threes and fours, while the setting sun sends forth his beams gorgeously as he draws near the mountain's rim. Still more is it delightful to see the lines of wild geese pass, looking exceeding small in the distance. And when the sun has quite gone down, how pleasant to listen to the chirruping of insects, or to the wind sighing in the trees ! "

"In winter, how unspeakably beautiful is the snow ! But I also love the dazzling whiteness of the hoar-frost, and the intense cold even at other times. Then it is meet quickly to fetch charcoal and kindle fires. And let not the gentle warmth of noon persuade us to allow the embers of the hearth or of the brazier to become a white heap of ashes ! "

FESTIVALS.

The ladies of the Court at this time led by no means the lives of strict seclusion which we are accustomed to picture to ourselves. At festival times in particular, they had many a glimpse of the outer world. But let our author speak for herself :—

"What delightful anniversaries festivals are ! Each one brings its special pleasures, but none to my mind is so enjoyable as New Year's Day. It is early spring time then, when the weather is settled, and the morning breaks serenely. A quiet haze is spread over hill and dale, which the sun disperses when he rises, and shows the dew-drops sparkling in his rosy beams. The world seems glad and happy, and in the shining faces of the neighbours, glowing from the frosty air of morning, content and peace is plainly written. How pleasant it is to watch them as they pass, in holiday attire, intent on making their congratulations to their master, and ignorant the while that their very lightness of heart is an unconscious compliment to themselves.

"It is the 7th day of the month when people, tempted by the fineness of the weather, go out in company to pick the *Wakana* (wild pot-herbs). The snow is off the ground, and great is the excitement amongst the ladies of the Court, who have so seldom the opportunity of a country trip. What fun to watch the farmer's wives and daughters

arrayed in all their boarded finery and riding in their waggons (made clean for the occasion) as they come to see the races in the Court-yard of the Palace. It is most diverting to observe their faces from our grated windows. How prim and proper they appear, all unconscious of the shock their dignity will get when the waggon jolts across the huge beam at the bottom of the gate, and knocks their pretty heads together, disarranging their hair and worse still, mayhap, breaking their combs. But that is after all a trifle when compared to their alarm if a horse so much as neighs. On this account the gallants of the Court amuse themselves by slyly goading the horses with spear and arrow point to make them rear and plunge and frighten the wenches home in fear and trembling. How silly, too, the men-at-arms look, their foolish faces painted with dabs of white here and there upon their swarthy cheeks, like patches of snow left on a hillside from a thaw.

“Then there is the 15th of the 1st month, when appointments for the next four years are made. How eagerly candidates for office rush here and there through falling snow and sleet, with their memorials in their hands. Some have the jaunty air and confidence of youth, but others—more experienced, are weary and dejected-looking. How the old white-headed suitors crave an audience of the ladies of the palace and babble to them of their fitness for the places they seek. Ah! little do they suspect when they have turned their backs, what mirth they have occasioned! How the ladies mimic them—whining and drawling!”

MISERIES OF AN EXORCIST.

The exorcist seems to have been a special object of our author's sympathy. She makes frequent reference to him, and always in terms of pity:

“How I pity an exorcist! It is bad enough I am sure to be an ordinary priest, but to be a holy man who professes to drive out evil spirits, one must indeed lead a miserable life. His ordinary food is the fasting diet of others. He dare not look upon a pretty face, however much he may long to do so, not even if he comes by chance upon a crowd of beauties—though perhaps he does so surreptitiously. He meets with all sorts of hardships amongst the mountains where he

is, bound to pass his solitary life; and even when his reputation comes to be established his lot is hardly better. For no matter how exhausted he may be, if he only nods from want of sleep when he is called in to a man who is possessed, he is scolded for a lazy rogue. No matter what his inward troubles may be, when he comes into a room he must assume a consequential air and purse his mouth and try to look as if he doubted not his power to set everything right at once. He hands bells and maces to all the household, and grinds out his chaunt in tones like the note of the *semi* (cicada).

"But suppose his spells are a failure, and the benign influence of no avail. What mortification is in store for him! He sees the people who assist begin to doubt his power and sanctity. Yet he must not stop. Hour after hour he chants and prays in desperation, until he finds it hopeless to continue. At last he has to tell them to get up from their knees. He must take his bells and maces back, and with downcast look admit that he cannot break the spell. How sad his rueful face as he ruffles up his hair, and his forehead! How wearily he yawns and sighs and flings himself upon the mats to sleep!"

VISIT OF THE EMPRESS TO A MINISTER OF STATE.

"To-day the Empress went to visit the Daijin Narimasa. As the main gate of his residence is very large, her carriage entered easily. Would that we had entered with her! Preferring, however, for many reasons to avoid all observation, we went round and tried to drive in by the northern gate, which was unguarded and seemed deserted. We particularly desired to enter unobserved, because most of us, having been summoned hastily to attend our mistress, had not had time to dress our hair or to change our garments. 'This will be delightful,' said we; 'we'll make the carriage draw up at the very door and slip in quietly.' When, to our horror and consternation, with a fearful bump the unlucky vehicle stuck fast in the gate. What a predicament! Here were we caught in a trap, and unable either to advance or to retreat. It was raining heavily, and to make matters as bad as possible we were but lightly clad. Mats were, however, laid down for us from the carriage to the door, along which, whether we liked it or not, we had to walk.

What added most to our mortification and annoyance were the winks and nudges which we plainly saw exchanged between the courtiers, the gauntlet of whose mirth we had to run in our semi-clad condition. When we met the Empress and told her of our troubles, we got little satisfaction. Her Majesty only laughed at us and rebuked us for our untidiness. 'There are people staring at you now,' said she. 'Yes,' we returned, 'but they are our own people and we are accustomed to them. Just to think of a Minister of State having a beggarly gate through which a lady's carriage cannot pass! Won't he catch it when we see him!' And indeed, I had my revenge, for hardly had we done speaking, when in he came carrying the Empress's inkstone and writing materials. 'This is too bad of you,' said I. 'Why do you live in a house with such a wretched gate?' To which he replied that he was satisfied to believe that his house and his gate suited his requirements. 'Indeed,' said I,—determined to extinguish him with a quotation—'how little, then, you resemble that Chinese philosopher who, thinking more of the comfort of posterity than his own, had a gate constructed much too large for his necessities.' This historical allusion quite took his breath away. 'Dear me!' said the great man, 'you allude of course to the country of Utei. Who would have thought that anybody but a venerable pundit knew aught of that? I myself have occasionally strayed into the learned paths and fully understand you.' 'Indeed, then,' returned I, 'I must say I don't admire your paths at all. We were all very much put out by being obliged to walk along your matted paths.' 'Indeed, I am truly sorry,' he replied; 'and it was raining too. But I must attend the Empress;' saying which he made his escape.

"'What has put the Daijin out?' said the Empress, somewhat later in the evening. 'I cannot tell, I am sure,' said I; 'I only told him of our misfortune at his gate.'"

Here is a pretty bit of colour, delicate in the original as the sketch of a master upon a fan, but sadly blurred and smudged, it must be admitted, in the transfer to our canvas:—

"On the northern side of the Emperor's pavilion, where he is won't to take his exercise, the sliding doors have fearful pictures painted on them. These hideous monsters, all arms and legs, may be seen from the upper windows of the ladies' quarters, when the pavilion doors are

open. It chanced one day, that whilst sitting on the verandah and talking of these dreadful figures, the Dainagon—the brother of the Empress—came towards our room. He had on a cherry-coloured outer garment just old enough to have lost its stiffness and to fit him easily. Loose trousers of thickest purple silk, and white silk underclothing, showing at the neck, completed his attire. As the Empress was engaged with the Emperor at the time, he sat himself upon the narrow verandah outside their door and talked with the Mikado. We saw them plainly through the semi-transparent curtains which were hung all round the room. What a pretty picture it was, and how lively! The gay dresses of the waiting women adorned with *Wistaria*, the yellow *Kerria*, and flowers of other kinds—the sound of the attendants bringing in the Emperor's mid-day meal, and the officials calling to them to make less noise, and last of all the Chamberlain himself coming to announce dinner served, and then retiring to his own apartment. The Dainagon accompanied the Emperor to his dining room, and then returning to our quarters, stood beneath a huge blue porcelain vase in which were placed some branches of the flowering cherry full five feet long and loaded with blossoms. The Empress perceiving him, emerged from behind the curtain and gave him greeting, to which he courteously replied by descanting on the beauty of the place, the fineness of the day, and the good deportment of the servants, alluding, in conclusion, to the verse of poetry which says,

The days and months roll on,
But the mount of Mimoro remains forever.

This whole scene impressed me deeply, and I wished in my heart that it might continue forever."

THE MEMORABLE ATTACK OF THE DOG OKINAMARO UPON THE CAT
MIYŌBU-NO-OTOTO.

"The distinguished cat which was the subject of this adventure was a special favourite of His Majesty Iehijō-no-in, and in constant attendance upon the Imperial footsteps. As a reward for her fidelity, she had received a cap of honour and had been raised to the 3rd rank of nobility, with the title of Miyōbu-no-Ototo, or chief of the female

attendants. She was indeed a cat of many graces and good qualities. Now one day she happened to be basking in the sun on the verandah, after the manner of cats, when her nurse—a lady specially appointed to that honorable office—disapproving of her attitude in repose, besought her to come indoors. Had she but listened to this reasonable counsel, how much trouble might have been avoided! Being, however, in a wilful and disobedient mood, she turned a deaf ear to the nurse's entreaties, and, maintaining her position, continued to slumber unconcernedly. This was provoking. What was to be done? It was plain that as the cat was not to be managed by love, some other method must be resorted to. In an evil moment the old lady resolved to try what fear would do. So pretending to seek assistance from the dog, she called out "Okinamaro, Okinamaro, come and bite Miyōbu-no-Ototo." The foolish dog, mistaking jest for earnest, on being thus appealed to, lost no time in flying at the cat, who, rudely wakened from her nap, jumped up and in her fright dashed headlong behind the very screen where His Imperial Majesty was at that moment engaged at breakfast, and sought protection in his arms. His Majesty, much shocked and agitated, sent immediately for his Lord High Chamberlain, Tadetaka, and gave orders that Okinamaro should be thrashed forthwith and exiled to Dog Island. 'Such is our Royal will,' said he; 'see that you lose no time in executing it.' All the Court attendants hereupon gave chase to Okinamaro who, being caught and beaten, was forthwith banished. Was it not sad? He had hitherto been such a happy dog, and was much esteemed. To think that he it was who on the third day of the third month had been carried in procession in a willow litter with peach blossoms and hollyhocks upon his head. Ah! little dreamt he that in a few short days he would become an outcast. The nurse was also punished and reprimanded for her carelessness and finally dismissed. She received her fate with humility, and appeared no more before the Emperor."

The above extracts (which there has been no attempt to translate literally) give but an inadequate idea of the very varied contents of this entertaining miscellany. A curious feature of it is a number of enumerations of things which struck the author as being "dismal," "abominable," "incongruous" (as bad writing on pink-tinted paper,

"purple trousers on a serving man") "unsightly," etc., etc. In the last-named category, the author very appropriately reckons "the wrong side of a bit of embroidery," the "inside of a cat's ear," and "a litter of young rats which have been tumbled out of their nest before their hair has grown." Then she has lists of flowers, telling which are her favourites. Other parts read like a lesson in geography, but the names of rivers, lakes, mountains, and waterfalls have the appearance of being selected for poetical purposes rather than by way of general information.

But this grave and learned society has doubtless had enough of these frivolities, which read tame and pointless when divested of that charm of style which has preserved the original from oblivion during nine centuries. Indeed, this paper was condemned by its authors as soon as written, and if it had not fallen under the eyes of more lenient judges would probably never have seen the light at all. It may serve a useful purpose, however, if it directs the attention of students to one of the pleasantest by-paths of the ancient classical literature of Japan.

A VOCABULARY OF THE MOST ANCIENT WORDS OF THE JAPANESE LANGUAGE.

BY B. H. CHAMBERLAIN, ASSISTED BY M. UEDA.

[*Read 16th May, 1888.*]

If we are ever to find out anything positive concerning the origin and affinities of the Japanese language, surely the first thing to do is to study that language in the earliest form of it that has come down to us. Indeed it is almost a truism to say so. Who would take Italian as his standard, when Latin is there ready for the measuring-tape and the weighing-machine? Nevertheless, and although Europeans have been studying Japanese for well-nigh three hundred years, and have been disputing about its origin for the greater portion of that period, no one seems to have thought of taking the essential preliminary step of ascertaining exactly what the oldest and simplest words of the language are.

The question of grammar is a less difficult one in the present case. Great practical dissimilarity between the earliest and latest forms of Japanese does not obscure the fact of a theoretical identity. In the languages of Western Europe we see a gradual change of grammatical system, ending in some cases,—that of English for instance,—in so complete an alteration of physiognomy, that it would be hard to believe that the ancient and the modern belong to the same family of speech, were it not that the intermediate forms have been preserved. Japanese, on the contrary, has gone on repeating itself. The spirit of its grammatical system is the same now as it was twelve hundred years ago, although the material elements of the conjugation are much changed. For comparative purposes, therefore, a study of any good grammar of

the Colloquial will do nearly as well as a perusal of a treatise specially devoted to the Classical or Archaic dialect. It will be seen at a glance that Japanese is an agglutinative tongue, that it is the grammatical *alter ego* of Korean, and extremely like Mongol and Manchu, which latter are included in the Altaic group.

But if the history of Japanese grammar bears no resemblance to that of English grammar, the history of the Japanese vocabulary does bear a marked resemblance to that of the English vocabulary. Later Japanese, like later English, has been interpenetrated by foreign elements; and no investigation of the language can be fruitful which does not take cognizance of this fact. But here a question suggests itself:—"In the case of English, the native Saxon and the imported French or Latin can be proved to derive ultimately from one common Aryan source. Now may not the same phenomenon exist in Japanese? May not the genuinely native vocabulary turn out after all to be related to the apparently foreign Chinese element imported into it during historic times?"

It is precisely this question which has recently been answered in the affirmative by two Chinese scholars of such repute as Dr. J. Edkins and Mr. E. H. Parker, in papers contributed by them to the last volume of these "Transactions." Dr. Edkins's paper is, indeed, short and somewhat enigmatical. Perhaps the learned doctor had not full leisure to give himself up to his subject. Mr. Parker's thesis, on the contrary, is worked out with all the thoroughness, as well as with all the daring, by which he is so eminently distinguished. He supports his views by means of an annotated vocabulary, wherein several hundreds of Japanese words are compared with Chinese words of more or less similar sound and meaning; and the particular conclusion he arrives at is stated by him in these terms: "Before Chinese was imported into Japanese (1) directly, and (2) indirectly, through Korea,—say before A. D. 1—the Japanese spoke a language, the great majority of words "in which came from the same language-stock as Chinese." In other passages of his writings, Mr. Parker seems to have in view, less a common derivation of Chinese and Japanese from a single stock, than the wholesale derivation of Japanese from Chinese. Be this as it may, and though I myself was, I think, the first European to point out the

probability that *some* words hitherto regarded as pure Japanese are probably Chinese importations after all,—for instance *uma*, “a horse,” from Chinese 馬 (*ma*); *ume*, “a plum-tree,” from Chinese 梅 (*mei*), both names of things which were almost certainly introduced into Japan from China or Korea;—notwithstanding this, I confess that I am not yet converted to a belief either in the theory of a common origin for the two languages, or in that of wholesale borrowing by one from the other.

The agglutinative grammatical system of Japanese, whether ancient or modern, differs more from the isolating grammatical system of Chinese, whether ancient or modern, than Aryan grammar does from Semitic. The construction of sentences, the whole syntax, shows a divergence no less radical. In every point of grammar, even down to the smallest, Japanese agrees with Korean; in almost all it agrees with Mongol and Manchu, while none of the four agree with Chinese. Nothing is more remarkable than the tenacity with which Chinese and Japanese have clung each to its own principles during the whole time that the history of these languages is known to us, that is to say at least twelve hundred years in the case of Japanese, and between two and three thousand years in the case of Chinese. If there is no trace of a grammatical *rapprochement* even twelve hundred years ago, at what period of thousands or tens of thousands of years ago are we expected to postulate a hypothetical unity? And if, even in the case of historically certain borrowings, we find such dissimilarity as there is, for instance, between Japanese *ō* and Chinese *ying* 應, “to correspond,” what clue can there be to guide us in our gropings through the darkness of scores of bygone ages? Mr. Parker’s ear discovers a similarity between Japanese *iro*, “colour,” and Chinese 色 (*set* or *shik*). But if *iro* is like *set*, what word is not like every other? It is true that related words in European languages sometimes sound very differently. English “head” is etymologically the same as French “*chef*.” But the clue which enables the connection between such words to be discovered, the basis on which repose certain definite and well recognised laws of letter-change, is community of grammar. Now community of grammar is precisely what Chinese and Japanese lack.

On the other hand, if it is claimed that the Japanese vocabulary has been *borrowed* from that of China, all sorts of difficulties seem to me

to stand in the way. Japanese,—and it is important to insist on this point,—is of all languages the most given to repeating itself. It varies in outward details, it appropriates new materials *en masse*, but it never strikes out new methods so far as our twelve centuries' experience of it reaches. Now there is a striking peculiarity in the manner of Japanese borrowing from Chinese during the period open to our inspection. It is this:—nouns only are so borrowed; or, if other words are borrowed, they are forthwith converted into nouns. Words of Chinese origin are never used as verbs. I should say hardly ever; but the exceptions are really so few, as practically not to invalidate the truth of the assertion. Here are the exceptions. In modern Japanese we have the verb *rikimu*, “to swagger,” apparently derived from the Chinese word 力 (*riki*), “strength,” and the verb *ryōrū*, “to cook,” derived from the Chinese words 料理 (*ryō ri*), “cooking.” In Mediæval Japanese I have met in one passage with the word *mondawazu*, a conjugational form barbarously derived from the Chinese expression *mon dō*, 問答. The Chinese term 裝束 (*shō zoku*), “garb,” “dress,” was also formerly conjugated as a verb with the gerund *shōzokite*, “having dressed.” But both these latter words have fallen into disuse. And this is the whole tale of such cases! So far, therefore, as experience goes, Japanese has not derived any of its conjugated words from Chinese during the last twelve centuries. But the hypothesis of wholesale borrowing assumes that conjugated words develop from Chinese originals as easily as nouns do.

Whatever may be thought of this reasoning, grammatical arguments are by no means the only ones which prevent us from accepting the borrowing hypothesis. History steps in, and asks how the borrowing could have taken place. Nations can only borrow words from the foreigners whom they meet, and under primitive conditions they never meet any but their nearest neighbours. But the Chinese and Japanese were not near neighbours in early days. The Chinese territory has not always extended to the sea; and even had it done so, primitive people do not cross wide seas. Korea, with Tsushima as a stepping-stone, was the only likely road from the continent of Asia to Japan. That it actually *was* the road is shown by all sorts of references in the mythology, the traditions and early history of these islands. Now there is no evidence of any language of the Chinese type having ever

been spoken in Korea. Korea was not even conquered by the Chinese till the second century before Christ. Accordingly we find that it is not until after that time,—not until considerably after that time (about 200 A. D.),—that the first accounts of Japan which testify to real intercourse and knowledge begin to make their appearance in the Chinese annals.¹ The Japanese names which these accounts quote—though unfortunately all too scanty,—support the opinion that the Japanese language then was substantially identical with the language as we know it from the native documents of five hundred years later. And to say five hundred years is really to overstate the interval. For though the documents themselves,—the *Kojiki*, *Nihongi*, and *Man-yōshū*,—date from the eighth century, they are simply compilations containing material of a much earlier period,—poetry which can well stand the wear and tear of time and of oral tradition, especially when invested, as some of this poetry was, with a partially sacred character.

We are thus led to the inference that the Japanese, when discovered by the Chinese, spoke substantially the same language as that used by them at the present day. Now we know positively that the process of borrowing has proceeded with increasing rapidity during the historic period, in other words that it was much less active in early times than it has been in recent times. But the theory under consideration would require that it should have been much more active and more thorough at the beginning than the end. Or, if it is not borrowing, but original organic unity which Mr. Parker has in view, then what we are invited to suppose is this: that two languages, one found in the middle of a continent (viz. in the upper part of the valley of the Hoang Ho), and the other in an archipelago beyond the seas, far away from that secluded valley, are related, although their grammatical systems are utterly unrelated, and although history points to the occupation of the intermediate territory by races speaking languages not cognate to either.

Such are some of the *à priori* difficulties in the way of our acceptance of Mr. Parker's theory. An examination of his list of words does not tend to allay our doubts. Some of the identifications are indeed ingenious; for Mr. Parker rarely attacks a subject without

¹ See Mr. Aston's learned paper on "Early Japanese History," in Part I. of this volume.

leaving luminous traces of his passage. Some may be true instances of early borrowing. How disprove any thing when we pass beyond the reach of documentary evidence? But there are cases where documentary evidence does come in, and where it proves that those particular identifications are illusory. Take, for instance, the word *deki*, "can," the fourth on his list. Considering it as an original and simple word, his quick glance leads him to connect it with the Chinese 得 (*tolu*), meaning "to get," hence "to achieve." The sound is like, and the sense is like. No, not really! The similarity is a deceptive one. *Deki* is but a modern corruption. The original word was *ide-kuru*, a compound signifying "to come out." Indeed *deki* itself has retained that meaning in certain cases, as where it is applied to anything which comes out on the skin, such as a boil or an eruption. But in other cases the verb *ide-kuru*, whence *deki*[ru], passed from the sense of "coming out" to that of "happening," hence "being able to be," "can." All the changes in the meaning of the word belong to comparatively recent times.²

Mr. Parker's twelfth word, *kaku*, "to sketch," is, on the contrary, one which leads us very far back. The identification of it with the like-meaning and like-sounding Chinese 劃 (*kaku*) is illusory, for the simple reason that the Japanese word *kaku* did not begin by meaning "to sketch" at all. It meant "to scratch." In like manner his twenty-first word *tsuki*, "a month," began by meaning "the moon." If, therefore, it really has any connection with the Chinese word 朔 (*saku*), it is not enough to show that the sense of "month" may be derived from *saku*. It would be necessary to prove the derivation of the sense of "moon" from the same source.

Again, Mr. Parker would connect Japanese *miya*, "a Shintō shrine," with the Chinese 廟 *miao*, "a shrine," especially "a Buddhist shrine." The likeness of sound is certainly great. So is the likeness of the idea, especially to such as have not had the opportunity of realising the profound distinction drawn by the Japanese between things Buddhist

² The original signification of the word is still preserved in certain provincial dialects. Thus, as the Rev. E. R. Miller informs me, the Nambu people use *dekiru* where the Tōkyō people have *deru*, and vice-versâ. For instance, the phrase "He has gone out" will there be *Dekita*, whereas "It is well done" will be *Yoku deta*.

and things Shintō. Unfortunately, however, for the identification in question, a reference to the earliest books in the Japanese language shows *miya* to be a purely native word, a compound of *mi*, "venerable," and *ya*, "house," *ya* itself being an old gerundive form connected with the verb *iru* (*wiru*), "to dwell." *Miya* therefore originally meant "a venerable dwelling," and was accordingly used both of the palaces of the native emperors and of the temples of the native gods. *Mikado*, lit. "the venerable gate," hence "the Imperial Court," "the Emperor," is another word formed from the same honorific *mi* and *kado*, "a gate." On the other hand Mr. Parker's number 92, *netsu*, "heat," "fever," is simply a Chinese word and acknowledged to be such, because known to have been imported during the early middle ages. There is therefore no need for identification in its case. *Natsu*, on the contrary, which he includes under the same rubric, has been a Japanese word from time immemorial. To identify it with *netsu* is to draw a bow at a venture. Indeed the probabilities are against two words so widely separated in time retaining so nearly the same sound, even if they were really originally connected.³

Similar negative criticism would dispose of great numbers of words on Mr. Parker's list. But the few instances which have been given may suffice to show the pitfalls into which even so eminent a scholar as he may be led by disregard of the fact that, Japanese being a language with a long and eventful history, a critical knowledge of that history is the indispensable basis for a sound Japanese philology. If the so-called "rules of letter-change," by which the comparison between Chinese and Japanese is guided, produce such errors where we can check the result by the application of the historical method, what confidence can we feel in the more numerous cases where we cannot thus check the result?

One of the arguments which Mr. Parker incidentally brings forward is a peculiarly ingenious one. Fearing that the identification of Japanese *iro*, "colour," with Chinese 色 (*set* or *shik*) may strain the credence of even the friendliest of his readers, he points out the

³ Mr. Aston suggests that *natsu* may be connected with Korean *nyōrŭm*, which has the same signification, the final *ŭm* being a mere termination, and Korean *r* or *l* corresponding regularly to final *tsu* or *dsu* in Japanese.

remarkable coincidence whereby the Chinese and Japanese words thus compared signify not only "colour," but "love" (in a bad sense),—"venery," as Mr. Parker styles it. Chinese 色 (*set* or *shik*) means "colour" and "love;" Japanese *iro* likewise means "colour" and "love."

Now at first sight the coincidence seems so extraordinary, that the greatest sceptic must feel almost persuaded to turn believer. How could two unrelated languages possibly agree to hit on precisely the same metaphor? But just look round a moment on the languages of Europe, and see what you find there. Is it not, for instance, a most striking coincidence that exactly the same figure of speech which has produced the word *demi-monde* in French should have produced the parallel word *Halbwelt* in German? Does it not amount to a miracle that precisely the same figure of speech should occur in Russian, and even in modern Japanese itself?—No! it is not a miracle at all. There is no coincidence at all; the case is simply one of borrowing. A French author started the idiom, his compatriots adopted it, and other nations, thinking it good, have translated it. That is all. Or take a more ancient case, the case of the word "case" itself, as used by grammarians. The Greeks, on analysing their language, found that nouns had various forms. One of these (the nominative) they considered to be the standard, the natural form, the form which, as it were, stood erect and self-reliant, while the other four appeared to them to be "fallings away" from the standard, inclinations, deflections, inflections. The metaphor was perhaps not a very happy one. Nevertheless the Latins adopted and translated it, rendering the Greek πῶτος from πίπτω, "to fall," by their own *casus* from *cadere*, "to fall." The Germans followed suit with the word "*Fall*" from *fallen*, "to fall," then again the Russians with *padezh* from *padat*, "to fall," so that at last the poor faded little Greek metaphor conquered the whole grammatical world. And borrowing of this kind,—that is, the borrowing of a foreign idea and the fitting of that idea to a native word, is one of the most powerful engines in the transformation of language. It has altered and enriched the whole manner of speaking of civilised nations. All Europe speaks in idioms translated from alien tongues, and especially from Greek and from French.

Well, the case of Japanese *iro* meaning "colour" and also "love," and of Chinese 色 (*set* or *shik*) likewise meaning "colour" and also "love," is exactly parallel to that of *πρῶσις* and its various equivalents in other languages, or of *demi-monde* and its German and Russian equivalents. We can prove, by reference to the early poetry of Japan, that the word *iro* formerly meant "colour" only. It took the sense of "love" or "venery" later on, owing to Chinese influence.⁴ Dozens of such cases of "coincidence" might be quoted, which would lend themselves admirably to the function of mare's nests. For instance take the word *michi*, "road." How surprising it seems at first sight that this Japanese term should denote, not only "road" but "doctrine," exactly as the Chinese word 道 (*tao*) does! But examine Archaic Japanese, and you will find, in the first place, that *michi* is merely a compound of the already mentioned honorific prefix *mi*, and of *chi* or rather *ti* (also *te*), the original word for "road," and secondly that neither *ti*, *te* nor *michi* was ever used in early times to denote the idea of "doctrine." The term meant "road" and nothing more. The sense of "doctrine" was added in early classical times through literal translation of the Chinese idiom. Is not this a curious consideration? Does it not show what scrupulous care, what minute criticism, must be used in dealing with questions of such delicacy? In philology, at least, to cut the Gordian knot is not to untie it.

Put into two words, my position then is briefly this: Beyond the fact that its grammatical system closely resembles that of Korean and of the Eastern Altaic languages, the affinities of Japanese are still altogether obscure. The only way in which we can usefully employ ourselves at present is in collecting facts. The day for grand generalisations has not yet come. In any case, whether the day for generalisations has come or whether it has not come, all will agree that, for comparative purposes, the oldest form of the Japanese language must be the best. There is more difference between the language of a modern Japanese newspaper and that of an ode in the *Kojiki* or *Man-yōshū* than there is between a modern Greek newspaper and the language of Homer.

⁴The earliest instance of its use in the new sense would seem to occur in the *Ise Monogatari*, a classical romance of uncertain date and authorship.

But there does not exist any vocabulary of the oldest, and none but the oldest, Japanese words. The native Japanese dictionaries do not distinguish the Archaic dialect, i.e. the language previous to the eighth century of the Christian era, from the Classical, i.e. the language down to the thirteenth century. I therefore determined to go through the materials which are most important for this investigation, with the help of a promising young scholar, Mr. Ueda Mannen, who took upon himself a portion of the necessary reading. The result is the vocabulary now offered to the Society. It is imperfect, no doubt. Neither Mr. Ueda nor myself have much leisure. The consequence is that numbers of words may have escaped us, especially of the rarer ones. Then, too, a small misfortune happened one day. There was a sudden gust of wind, and off fluttered a little pile of slips into the garden, and some of them out beyond the garden; and I never could make quite sure how many there were nor which they were that thus got lost. A much graver consideration is suggested by the fact that the Archaic literature is of small compass.* We may, therefore, well suppose that numbers of words, only known to us as Classical or Colloquial words, were really Archaic also, though they do not happen to occur in Archaic texts. Sometimes there are indications to help us out, for instance in the case of the Colloquial word *uso*, "a lie," which does not even occur in the Classical literature, but whose continuous existence from the earliest times is rendered probable by the occurrence of the word *roso* with apparently the same signification in one of the *Man-yōshū* odes. But as a rule this difficulty is one not to be guarded against. However, all deductions made, I venture to think that the list even now contains most of the words which are really important,—the radical words if one may so style them. By "radical words" I do not mean the "roots" of some scholars, those extremely problematical monosyllables which spring partly from a comparison of like-sounding words, partly from the inner consciousness of the investigator. I mean actual words found in authors, the simplest of such actual words, so far as they can be known. Compounds are of course discarded,—such words, for instance, as the already mentioned *mi-kado*, *mi-ya*, *mi-chi*; such others as *kaga-mi*, "a mirror," (from *kage*, "reflection," and *miru*, "to look"); *ko-ko*, "here" (from *ko*, "this," and *ko*, "place"); *ma-*

koto, "truth" (from *ma*, "true," and *koto*, "thing"); *utau*, "to sing" (from *utsu* or *utu*, "to beat," and *au*, "to be mutual," i.e. "to beat time in concert"); *waga*, "my," from *wa* or *a*, "I," and *ga*, "of." All such words (and their name is legion) should indeed find their place in a dictionary, whose object it is to give information concerning the current use and signification of terms; but they must be as carefully excluded from a vocabulary intended for comparative purposes. For whoever should take *nichi* or *makoto* or *waga*, or any such word, which is really a compound, as a simple word, and compare it with words in other languages, would be following a will-o'-the-wisp. My only fear is that many compounds may still lurk among the words here given as simple ones. All nouns over two syllables and all verbs of over three syllables are to be suspected. The danger is unavoidable in the present rudimentary stage of Japanese philology. One can but do one's best. And I, for one, have a horror of using my imagination in such matters, although I do of course use my spectacles. It is surely better that the results shall be trustworthy, even at the cost of their being scanty.

With regard to inflected words, viz., verbs and adjectives, the method followed has been to present them in the shortest form in which they actually occur. Adjectives are accordingly given in the stem form, as *naga*, *take*, for *nagaki*, *takeki* (Colloquial *nagai*, *takei*). Verbs are given in the conclusive form of the present tense, as *semu* (colloq. *semeru*), "to press upon," *sugu* (colloq. *sugiru*), "to pass," "to exceed." This plan has the incidental advantage of including under one rubric verbs belonging indifferently to the first and second conjugations, such as *nagaru* or *nagaruru* (Colloq. *nagareru*) "to flow;" *wasuru* or *wasururu* (Colloq. *wasureru*), "to forget," etc., and likewise such pairs of verbs as *aku*, "to open" (intrans.), and *akuru* (Colloq. *akeru*), "to open," (trans.); *oruru* (Colloq. *oreru*), "to break" (intrans.), and *oru*, "to break" (trans.), etc. For the distinction between the first and second conjugations is not fundamental; it is a later growth. Similarly, all such pairs of verbs as *wakaru*, "to be apart," and *wakuru*, "to separate," are given under a single rubric,—in this case *waku*,—such verbs being, in fact, mere compounds of an original shorter verb with

aru, "to be," and *uru* "to get." Again, such derivative verbs as *tsunagu*, "to tie," *yadoru*, "to lodge," are not given at all. The nouns *tsuna* (here written *tuna*) and *yado*, from which they are derived, are enough.

Furthermore, it need scarcely be mentioned that words are only given in the senses in which they actually occur in the earliest texts. For instance, the common verb *yomu* will be found in the list, but not with its familiar sense of "to read." Archaic Japanese has no word for "to read." How should it, seeing that the people were ignorant of the use of letters? *Yomu* meant "to count." When the art of reading was introduced, the word for counting was pitched on in a rough and ready fashion to do duty for the idea of reading. The solitary idiom *uta wo yomu*, which means, not to *read* poetry but to *compose* it, is a relic of the original signification of the word. It refers of course to the counting of the syllables in each line. The necessary limits of this paper do not permit me to treat other words in detail after this fashion. To do so would fill not a paper, but a volume, and a large volume. It must suffice thus merely to point towards lines of research which perhaps others may follow up. A beginning has indeed already been made in this direction by Mr. Satow in the notes to his literal translation of the *Shintō Rituals*,—notes containing more solid matter than goes to the forming of many a thick volume. But what has been done,—valuable as it is,—is but little in comparison with what remains to be done, both philologically and archæologically. And the charm of the study is that in it one treads on certain ground. Results once obtained are obtained for good. They are not mere speculations, like the theory we have been reviewing.

Only one more item before closing these introductory remarks. Just a word on the subject of orthography. In the absence of a clear knowledge of what the pronunciation of Japanese was at the earliest time of which any traces of the language remain, I have decided to adhere to that system which, by the almost common consent of native scholars, is deemed to represent most truly the pronunciation of early ages. According to this, the *kana* spelling is followed syllable by syllable, and the series

タ	チ	ツ	テ	ト	is transcribed	<i>ta</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>to</i> . ⁵
ダ	ヂ	ヅ	デ	ド	“	“	<i>da</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>de do</i> .
サ	シ	ス	セ	ソ	“	“	<i>sa</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>se so</i> .
ザ	ジ	ズ	ゼ	ゾ	“	“	<i>za</i>	<i>zi</i>	<i>zu</i>	<i>ze zo</i> .
ワ	ヰ	ヱ	ヲ		“	“	<i>wa</i>	<i>wi</i>	<i>we</i>	<i>wo</i> .

Only in the series ハ ヒ フ ヘ ホ have I ventured to strike out a new line, and to transcribe thus:—*pa pi pu pe po*. Some scholars, both native and foreign, would prefer *ha, hi, hu, he, ho*, others *fa, fi, fu, fe, fo*. It appears to me that there are sufficient grounds for believing the *h* with which some of the letters of this series are now pronounced to be a corruption of *f*, and the *f* again to be a corruption of *p*. The colloquial use of *p* in such words as *pika-pika*, connected with *hikaru*, “to shine,” and the frequent use of *p* after a nasal and of double *p* in words borrowed from the Chinese and having a *p* in that language point in this direction. But the fact that the *nigori* of the consonant in question is *b* raises the supposition more nearly to the rank of a certainty. Moreover, there is one weighty piece of historical evidence tending in the same direction. It is the transcription of the syllable *u* in the word *himeko* in a Chinese text of the third century by the character 卑, of which Dr. Edkins says that its pronunciation as *pi* (not *fi* nor *hi*) is “beyond dispute.” On such a matter Dr. Edkins’s authority ought to be trusted when he speaks so positively; for the history of Chinese sounds is his specialty. Furthermore, he concludes

⁵ In transcribing the *Kana* syllables チ and ツ by *ti* and *tu*, rather than by the values *chi* and *tsu* which they bear in modern pronunciation, I may seem to be disregarding the justly great authority of Mr. Satow, as expressed in his paper entitled “Reply to Dr. Edkins on *Chi* and *Tsu*,” and printed in Vol. viii of these “Transactions.” As I interpret that paper, however, Mr. Satow does not reject the idea of a very early *t* pronunciation of syllables now having *ch* and *ts*. All that he claims for the latter sounds is an antiquity greater by some centuries than that which Dr. Edkins had at first been willing to allow them. It is surely hardly necessary to add that the system of spelling followed in this paper is adopted for the purposes of this paper only. For all ordinary purposes I follow Dr. Hepburn and the Romanisation Society. The latter authorities consistently follow the modern pronunciation, and are therefore strictly scientific from one point of view. I, in this paper, follow what I believe to be the nearest attainable approach to the pronunciation of Archaic times. The leading principle is the same. The result is different only because the principle is applied to different data.

from it, as I would conclude from the consensus of all the evidence, that "we are warranted" in regarding all Japanese words beginning with *h* as having in the third century begun with *p*." The chief reason, probably, that will make students of Japanese, and especially Japanese students of their own language, hesitate to endorse the *p* spelling of such words is one founded, not in logic but in custom. The familiar words look odd in such a garb. But, without wandering further than our native English, the labours of philologists have proved the occurrence of extraordinary changes of pronunciation within a few centuries; and the same could probably be shown to be true of almost every tongue. For myself, I do not wish to be bigoted in this matter of the transcription of the Japanese *ハヒフヘホ* series by *p*. Considerable uncertainty hangs over the ancient pronunciation. The original letter may have been either *p*, *ph* (i.e. *p* + *h*) or *f*. It could hardly have been *h*. All that we know with tolerable certainty is that it was a labial surd. There is nothing in particular to show that it was aspirated. Under all the circumstances, therefore, it seems best to transcribe it by *p*, until such time as the superior suitability of *ph* or of *f* shall have been demonstrated. It is surely hardly worth while to remark that the modern pronunciation is untrustworthy as a guide in such matters. That will be admitted by all who have studied the subject. The only thing is to follow the *Kana* spelling. One does indeed sometimes wish to be able to get behind that spelling to a still more ancient stage of the phonetics of the language. Two native scholars, Messrs. Kurokawa Mayori and Tatsumi Kojirō, have actually endeavored to distinguish between *wu* and *u* in the single *Kana* letter *ウ*, and between *yi* and *i* in the single *Kana* letter *イ*. But, as they follow no rule but their own imagination, I have not been able to make use of their alleged discoveries.

With these introductory remarks, I commend the vocabulary to the kind indulgence of competent critics. My object will have been attained, if Orientalists are induced to see how essential it is, in all questions of Japanese philology, to take the Archaic form of the language as the standard of comparison. It will be more than attained if any are led on hereby to the discovery of new facts in this almost virgin field.

A.

a, a net. Probably by apocope for *ami*, a net, formed from *amui*, to net. Still as we find the compounds *a-biki*, drawing in a net, and *a-go*, a fisherman, it is possible that *a* was the original word, whence the verb *amu*, as *paramu* from *para*, etc.

a or *are*, I. The *re* is probably an agglutinated suffix. See s. v.

a, foot, leg. Possibly by apocope for *ashi*, which has the same meaning. Still, a consideration of the many very ancient compounds into which it enters, may make it a more probable opinion that *a* is the original word, and *ashi* but a compound. Undoubted compounds are *a-buni*, stirrup, from *a* and *pumu*, to tread; *a-gura*, throne or seat, from *a* and *kura*, a seat; *ayupi*, leggings, from *a* and *yupu*, to tie; *a-oto*, the sound of footsteps, from *a* and *oto*, sound, etc.

a, also *aze* and *azu*, a dike between rice-fields.

abura, oil, grease, fat of any kind. In the earliest passage where the word occurs, it would seem to have the still vaguer signification of liquid of any kind. Mr. Aston suggests that it may be connected with *apuru* (modern *afureru*), "to overflow," which, though not happening to occur in the archaic texts, is probably an old word.

adi, a species of teal.

adisawi, the hydrangea bush. A compound, but of what?

aduki, a species of small, red bean.

aduku, to give in charge.

adusa, the catalpa-tree, used for making bows.

agu, to lift, to raise. Hence many derivatives, e.g. *agapu*, to compensate; *aga-ta*, upland rice-fields, i.e., rice-fields in the dry.

aka, brilliant, hence red; possibly connected with *aki*, clear, and with *aku*, to open.

aki, autumn.

aki, clear,—as in *aki-raka*, clear; *aki-ra-muru*, to make clear.

aku, to open.

aku, to be satiated.

akuta, dust, dirt.

ama, sweet.

ama or *ame*, the sky, heaven, rain. Possibly two originally different

terms,—one meaning heaven and the other rain,—may have converged into one. In the sense of rain we also find *same* in quite a number of compounds, such as *ko-same*, *mura-same*, *paru-same*, *pi-same*. The insertion of a euphonic *s* being no usual feature of Japanese phonetics, are we to look on *same* as a separate word, or as a corruption of *ame*?

ama, many, as in *ama-neki*, many; *amaru*, to remain over; *amasu*, to leave over; *ama-ta*, many.

amu, to net. *Ama*, a fisherman, and *ami*, a net, are participial formations from this verb.

amu, to bathe.

amu, a horse-fly.

ana, a hole.

ana! ah! alas!

ani, not. Used independently, and also as a suffix, as in *si^r'ani*, not knowing, from *si^ru*, to know.

apa, foam.

apa, millet.

apabi, the sea-ear.

apare! alas! what a pity!

apu, to meet, to be together, to do or be anything in company or mutually.

apu, to endure, to dare.

apugu, to wave, to fan.

apupi, the name of a plant,—the holly-hock.

apuru or *aburu*, to put close to the fire.

aputi, the name of a tree,—a species of melia.

ara, rough, new. This is a word very fruitful in derivatives, e.g. *aru*, to storm; *arare*, hail; *arashi*, a storm; *arata* (or, by metathesis *atarata*), new. Probably also *ara-kazime*, beforehand; *arawasu*, to reveal; *aru*, to be born.

ara-kazime, beforehand, first. See *ara*.

arapasu, to reveal. See *ara*.

aru, to be born. See *ara*.

aru, (there) to be, there is.

aru, to wither.

aruku, or *ariku*, to walk. Possibly connected with *a*, the foot or leg.

asu, hemp.

asa, shallow, more rarely short.

asa, *asita*, or *asu*, morning, morrow.

asaru, to fish.

ase, sweat.

asi, a reed, a rush.

asi, the foot, the leg. See *a* (3).

asi, bad.

aso, a title of nobility.

asobu, to frolic, to play.

ata or *ada*, bad conduct, uselessness, a foe.

atapu, to give. See *atu* (1).

atara, new. See *ara*.

atari, also *watari*, neighbourhood, environs. Compare *atu*, to place near.

ato, a track, a trace. Possibly connected with *a*, foot or leg.

atu, to place near, to put upon, to fix on. Hence *atapu* (for *ate apu*), to give.

atu, hot.

atu, thick. Perhaps originally the same word as the preceding.

atuma or *aduma*, the east. The native derivation of this word *a ga tuma*, my wife, is untenable.

atumu, to collect.

awi, woad; hence a blue colour.

awo, green, blue. Probably connected with the preceding. It is thought also to mean white in some contexts.

aya, an ornament, a pattern, hence damask.

aya, an adverb or interjection corresponding somewhat to our word very.

ayamatu, to err. The termination *matu* is obscure. The initial syllables *aya* may possibly be identical with those of *ayasi*, strange and bad. If so, *aya* may have been originally a noun denoting something evil and uncanny.

ayame, the sweet flag. Probably from *aya*, an ornament or pattern.

ayasi, strange,—in a bad sense. Conf. *ayamatu*.

ayu, the east (wind).

ayu, a kind of trout.

ayu, to ripen.

ayumu, to walk.

B.

be(si). Must, shall, may.—The initial *b* probably represents an older *p*. It occurs in no other word.

D.

dani, at least, even. The initial *d* occurs in no other word, and probably represents an older *t*.

F. (See under P.).

G.

ga, of. The form *go* also occurs, but seems to be less original.

gari, the place where a person is.

gatera or *gateri*, while.

goto, each, every, similar, like.—The initial *g* occurs in no other words, and probably represents an older *k*.

H. (See under P.).

I.

i, sleep. Conf. *mu*, to sleep.

i or *itu*, five. It is uncertain which of the two forms of this numeral is the original one. Judging from the analogy of the other numerals, in which the syllable *tu* is a mere suffix, and from the multiples *i-so*, fifty, and *i-po*, five hundred, one would incline to decide in favour of *i*. On the other hand it must be borne in mind that the other even numbers are derived from the odd by a process of vowel-strengthening, thus: 1 *pito*, 2 *puta*; 3 *mi*, 6 *mu*; 4 *yo*, 8 *ya*. It is therefore

but natural to postulate a like relation between *itu*, 5, and *to*, 10. According to this view, the syllable *tu* is radical, and the initial *i* may either be radical also, but dropped from *to*, ten; or else it may be an expletive.

ibu, indistinct, dim, hence gloomy.

idaku, to embrace.

idu, to issue forth, to go or come out.

idu ? what ? (adjective).

ika ? what ? how ?

ika, august.

ikari, an anchor.

ike, a pond.

iki, the breath.

iku or *oku*, to live. Probably connected with *iki*, the breath.

ik(opu), to rest. (From the preceding ?).

iku ? how many ? Conf. *ika* ? what ?

ikuri, a reef.

ikusa, a battle, war.

ima, now.

imada, still ; with a negative, not yet.

ime, a dream, same as *yume*.

imo, a wife, a sister.

imo, a potato.

imu, to shun, (as something unlucky,) to prohibit, to dislike.

ina, no.

ina or *ine*, rice in the ear. Another form of the word is *sine*. Conf. the remarks on *same* under *ama* (2).

inoti, life. Possibly from *iki no uti*, while breath lasts.

inu, to depart.

inu or *yenu*, a dog.

ipa, a rock.

ipe, a house.

ipi, food.

ipo, a hut.

ipu, to say.

iro, colour.

iru, to aim, to shoot.

iru, to enter, to insert.

isa, or *iso*, brave, energetic.

isamu, to reprove.

isatu, to make violent demonstrations of grief.

isay(opu), to totter, to be on the verge of.

isi, a stone.

iso, the sea-shore.

iso, busy.

ita, a plank, a board.

ita, violent, painful, sad. Hence *it(opu)*, to dislike, to shun ?

itadura, uselessness.

itaru, to reach.

iti, vigorous, flourishing.

iti, a town.

ito, a thread.

itopu, to dislike, to shun.

itu, when ?

itu, strength.

itu, sacred.

itukusi, pretty.

iya, still more.

iyasi, vile, base.

iza, an exclamation used to call or encourage.

izaru, to fish.

K.

ka, an interrogative or exclamatory particle.

ka, a prefix of no ascertainable meaning.

ka, an odour.

ka, a deer.

ka, a mosquito.

ka, thus.

ka or *ke*, a day.

ka or *ke*, a hair.

ka, *ko*, or *ku*, a place. These words are probably but variants of the same original.

kabe, a wall.

kabane, a corpse.

kad(*apu*) or *kad*(*apu*), to entice.

kadi, a paddle, an oar. This word curiously exemplifies that development in the sense of words, which accompanies the development of inventions. When boats came to be no longer steered by means of a simple oar, but of that differentiated kind of oar which we term a rudder, the word *kadi* passed over into the latter more specialised sense, while the general signification of "oar" was assumed by the imported Chinese word *ro*. *Kadi* is sometimes written *kai*.

kaga or *kage*, reflection, shadow, light.

kagamu, to bend.

kaka, an onomatope for the sound made in drinking water.

kake, a cock. Evidently an onomatope.

kakeru, to run.

kaki, a fence, a hedge.

kaki, an oyster.

kako, a boatman.

kaku, to be flawed, defective, to wane (of the moon).

kaku, to hang.

kaku, to scratch. Hence later to draw a picture, to paint, to write.

kakumu, to surround.

kakuru, (intrans.),
kakusu, (trans.), } to hide.

kama, a sickle.

kama, a pot used for boiling rice or water.

kamame, a sea-gull.

kam(*apu*), to frame.

kame, a jar.

kame, a tortoise.

kami, a god. See *kamu* (1).

kami, above.

kami, hair. Perhaps identical with the two preceding, as only the hair of the head is so called. On the other hand, it should be remembered that *ka* also means hairs in general.

kamo, a wild-duck.

kamu or *kami*, a god. Possibly identical with *kami*, above. But the apparently superior antiquity of the form *kamu* is against this hypothesis, unless we may assume that the *kami* signifying above was also originally *kamu*.

kamu, to brew (rice-beer), to distill. In classical and later Japanese it also has the meaning of to munch, to chew, which is probably the radical signification of the word, though not happening to occur in the archaic literature.

kana, a carpenter's plane.

kana or *kane*, metal.

kanasi, sad.

kane, sake; as *tu ga kane?* for whose sake?

kani, a crab.

kanu, to do two things at a time; hence to be unable.

kapa, skin, fur, bark, in fact any exterior organic covering.

kapa, a river.

kape, a kind of tree, supposed to be an oak.

<i>kaperu</i> (intrans.),	} to return.
<i>kapesu</i> (trans.),	

kapi, a shell.

kapi, a hollow.

kapina, the arm.

kapo, the face, perhaps also the whole body.

kapu, to exchange, to change.

kapu, to keep, to rear (animals).

kara, from, since.

kara, a husk, any useless and thrown off integument.

kara, pungent.

karamu, to wind.

kari, a wild-goose.

karo or *karu*, light (not heavy).

karu, to cut, to mow.

karu, to be apart, to be separated. It is generally believed by the native etymologists to stand for *wakaru*, from *waku*, to divide. But why should it not be an independent word ?

karu, to decay, to fade.

karu, to hunt.

karu, to borrow. Conf. *kasu*.

kasa, a pile, a heap.

kasa, a hat, a sunshade.

kasa, an eruption on the skin.

kasi or *kasipa*, a kind of oak.

kasiko, awful, hence venerable.

kasiku, to boil—said of rice.

kasi-masi, rattling, noisy.

kasu, dregs, lees.

kasu, to lend. It is the transitive corresponding to the (grammatically speaking) intransitive *karu*, to borrow.

kasoka, or *kasuka*, distant and indistinct.

kasumi, haze or mist in spring. Probably connected with the preceding.

kata, side, hence direction, way ; also one side, whence partial or defective numerically ; also the side of the body, but specifically the shoulders ; also the seaside when sandy, a shoal.

kata, hard.

katami, mutual.

kataru, to tell, to recount.

katati, shape. Conf. *kata*.

kati, on foot,—e. g. crossing a river on foot instead of in a boat.

katu, moreover, besides.

katu, to conquer.

katura, a creeping-plant, hence a head-dress.

katura, the cassia-tree.

kaya, a kind of rush used to thatch roofs.

kaza or *kaze*, the wind.

kazaru, to adorn.

kazu, number. Hence *kazouru*, to count.

ke, food.

ke, any small receptacle, e. g. a basket.

ke, vapour, spirit, aspect.

ke, to vanish, to melt. Probably a contraction of *kiye*, from *kiyu*.

kedasi, perhaps, if peradventure.

keduru, to comb.

kepu, to-day. See *pi* (1).

kepuri, smoke.

kesi, strange, uncanny.

kesi, a garment.

keta, the cross-beams of a house.

ketu, to cause to vanish or to melt, to extinguish (a fire). Connected with *kiyu*?

ki, rice-beer.

ki, a verbal suffix indicative of past time.

ki, a stockade, a stronghold, any enclosed space, a coffin.

kigisi or *kigisu*, a pheasant.

kiku, to hear.

kimi, a lord, a sovereign.

kimo, the liver.

kinopu, yesterday. See *pi* (1).

kinu, a garment.

kip(opu), to strive.

kipa, an edge, the end or limit of anything.

kiru, to be misty, hazy.

kiru, to cut.

kiru or *keru*, to wear, to clothe (oneself).

kisa, an elephant.

kisi, the shore or bank of the sea or of a river.

kisu or *kesu*, to clothe (another). This is the transitive form corresponding to *kiru*, to wear.

kitana, dirty.

kitu, a fox.

kiyo, clear, pure.

kiyu, to vanish.

kizo, yesterday. Conf. *kozo*.

kizu, a wound.

ko, a basket.

ko, this.

ko, a child, a young person of either sex ; hence small.

ko, dark-coloured, thick.

ko or *ki*, a tree, also the substance wood. This word serves as a suffix to form many names of trees and plants.

kobotu, to break.

kobu, to flatter.

kogo(siki), solidified, coagulated.

kogu, to row (a boat).

kogu, to be charred, burnt.

koke, moss or lichen of any sort.

kokoda, many, much.

kokono, nine.

kokoro, the heart. Motowori believes it to be from *koro-koro*, which was, he thinks, a sort of onomatopoeia for the bowels and inward parts generally. *Kokoro*, since early classical times, has been chiefly used to signify the metaphorical heart, the affections. This sense was before then expressed by *ura*, q. v.

koku, to pare, to scrape.

konami, the elder of several wives.

komo, matting.

komu, to crowd, to press, to shut in. Hence *komoru*, to be shut up, the colloquial *komaru*, to be bothered, etc.

koporogi, a cricket (insect).

koporu, to freeze. Perhaps connected with *koru*, to become hard, to coagulate.

kopu, to yearn, hence to ask, to love.

kori, incense.

koro, time.

korobu, to fall down, to tumble or roll over.

koromo, a garment.

koru, to take warning, to profit by experience.

koru, to coagulate, to become hard of form.

koru, to scold.

kosi, the loins,

kosi, a palanquin.

koso, a highly emphatic particle.

kosu, to cross, to go over. Connected with *koyu*.

kotapu, to answer. Perhaps from *koto apu*, words (or things) meeting, agreeing.

koti, the east wind.

koto, a thing (of the mind), a fact, an act. Hence *kotowari*, reason, lit. the division of things.

koto, a word. Perhaps identical with the preceding.

koto, especially. Perhaps identical with the two preceding.

koto, a lute.

kowa or *kowe*, the voice.

koworo-koworo, an onomatope for curdling.

koyaru or *koyasu*, to lie down, to rest.

koyu, to cross over. Connected with *kosu*.

kozo, last year. Conf. *kizo*.

kozu, to pull up by the roots.

ku or *ko*, a place. Probably the same as *ka*.

ku or *ki*, yellow.

kubi, the neck.

kuda, a horn.

kudaku, *kudiku*, or *kuduru*, to break.

kudaru or *kudatu*, to descend.

kudira, a whale.

kuga, dry land, as opposed to the sea. Possibly from *ku ka*, the yellow place (as opposed to the blue main).

kuku, to pass in through, to dive under.

kukumu, apparently a variant of *pukumu*.

kukuru, to bind, to tie.

kuma, a bear.

kuma, a dark place, a hiding-place, hence a corner.

kumo, a cloud.

kumo, a spider.

kumu, to divide, hence to ladle out, to draw,—as water. The sense of dividing also passes over into that of distributing, whence to put together, to interlace. Thus, by insensible gradations, the opposite

senses of dividing and combining come to be expressed by the same verb. The earliest sense, that of dividing, was already obsolescent in archaic times, occurring only in proper names, as *Mi-kumari-yama*, the Mountain of the Division of the Waters, "Mount Water-shed."

kunu or *kuni*, a country.

kupa, a hoe.

kupa, a mulberry-tree.

kupa(*si*), complete, perfect, fine, minute. Compare the verb *kupapuru*, (colloq. *kucueru*) to add, which, though not occurring in the archaic texts, not improbably existed in archaic times.

kupi, a post, any piece of wood stuck in the ground. Conf. *ko* or *ki*, wood, tree. It would be in accordance with analogy to suppose an old form *ku* of the latter word.

kupu, to eat.

kura, anything to sit on,—a seat, a throne, a saddle: *oki-gura*, a stand, a table; *ame no iwa-kura*, the rock-throne of the gods in heaven.

kura, } dark.

kuru, } to grow dark.

Conf. *kuro*, black.—*Kure*, dusk, twilight,

is the indefinite form of this verb *kuru*.

kurage, a kind of jelly fish, the medusa.

kuri, a chestnut.

*ku*ro, black. Conf. *kura*, dark.

ku(*ru*), to come. May it not possibly be connected with *kuruma*, a wheeled vehicle, which *turns*, *returns*? Conf. also the classical verb *kurupu*, to turn, to twist, hence to be in a frenzy.

kuru, to reel (thread).

kuruma, a wheel, anything with wheels. Conf. *kuru*, to come.

kurusi, vexatious, sad.

kusa, (1) herbs, grass. (2) a kind, a sort. This second meaning is probably derived from the first.

kusi, a skewer, hence a comb.

kusiro, a bracelet.

kuso, animal secretions or excrements of any kind.

kusu or *kusi*, wonderful, supernatural.

kusuri, medicine.

kuti, the mouth.

kutu, a shoe.

kutu, to rot.

kuyū, to regret, to repent.

kuzu, the name of a plant resembling arrowroot,—the *Dolichos bulbosus*.

M.

ma, a grand-child.

ma, space, room, interval.

ma, true, genuine, good. The native literati believe the honorific *mi* to be identical with this word.

ma, a horse. See *uma*.

ma, or *me*, the eye.

made, until, as far as. The form *mate*, which would be more archaic, seems also to have existed.

madi, or *madu*, poor.

madu, first of all.

mad(opu),

mad(apu), } to mix, to mingle; hence to go astray owing to
mag(iru), } complications. Conf. also *maga*.
maz(iru),

maga, crooked; hence evil.

magu, to seek.

makaru, to return, to die.

maku, to make, to set.

maku, to roll, to wind. Hence *makura*, a pillow.

maku, to sow.

maku, to be defeated.

maku, to order, to entrust.

name, beans.

mapi, a bribe.

mapu, to go round, to dance.

maro, round. Hence *marobu*, to roll over.

maro, I.

maru, to excrete (fæces).

masa, true, right. Hence *masu* and *masaru*, to be superior, Conf
ma, true, genuine.

masi, a verbal particle which implies that the action indicated by the verb might have taken place, but did not. It therefore resembles such English idioms as would have, ought to have been, etc.

maso or *mata*, complete. Conf. *ma*, true.

masu, to dwell ; hence to be.

mata, a fork,—as of a tree or of the legs.

mata, again. (Derived from the preceding ?)

matasu, to send. Perhaps the same as *watasu*, to hand across.

mato, a target.

matu, to await, to wait.

matu, a pine-tree.

maturu, to reverence, to offer reverently. (Connected with *matu*, to wait ?)

mawosu, to say ; hence to govern.

mazi, a wicked spell, an act of witchcraft or poisoning. (Connected with the next ?)

maziru, see *madopu*.

me, a woman.

me, the shoot of a plant, a bud. The Japanese literati plausibly see in this word a contraction of *moye*, the indefinite form of the verb *moyu* which signifies to bud.

me, a crowd. The Japanese literati see in it a contraction of *mure*, a crowd. See *muru*.

medu, to like, to love.

megumu, to treat with kindness.

meguru, to go round.

mesu, to summon, to send for.

mi, an adjective suffix signifying on account of, because of.

mi...mi, a verbal suffix occurring always in pairs, and having an alternative, repetitive, or frequentative signification.

mi, an honorific applied to the most exalted personages, such as gods and emperors. See *ma*, true.

mi, a berry, a fruit.

mi, three.

mi, deep, said of mountain recesses.

mi or *midu*, rarely *mitu*, water. It is hard to say which of the two first-given forms of the word is the original one. *Mi* occurs in all the oldest compounds, such as *mi-na-to*, an estuary; *mi-na-moto*, a river source; *mi-so*, a ditch. At the same time, if *midu* is itself a compound of *mi* and *du*, what is the signification of *du*?

{ *midaru*, to be confused, disordered.

{ *midasu*, to confuse, to put in disorder.

midori, green; hence young.

midu, water. See *mi*, water.

midu, fresh.

mimi, the ears.

mina, all.

minami, the south wind.

mira, chive.

miru, a kind of sea-weed.

miru, to see, to look.

miti, the name of a marine animal, possibly the sea-lion or a species of seal.

mitu, to fill, to be full.

mizi(ka), short.

mo, face, hence direction. See *omo*.

mo, a lower garment, a skirt.

mo, sea-weed.

mo, a particle whose most frequent sense is even, also; but in the oldest texts it seems to be rather a sort of expletive.

mo, a calamity, mourning.

moda, silence.

mogoro, similar, equal.

momidu, to grow yellow or red,—said only of the leaves in autumn.

momo, a peach-tree.

momo, the thigh.

momo, a hundred.

momu, or *moni*, a species of fir,—the *Abies firma*.

mono, a thing, any material object.

mori, a grove of trees.

moro or *muro*, a cave ; hence a dwelling-place.

moro, all sorts of, all.

moru, to guard, to watch.

moru, to fill, to pile up.

mosi, if.

moti, full,—said of the moon.

moti, bird-lime.

moto, the stem of a tree, hence origin, beginning. Hence probably

moto-poru, to return ; *moto-posu*, to repeat.

motomu, to seek.

motu, to hold ; hence to have.

moyu, to burn.

moyu, to bud.

mozu, the shrike or butcher-bird.

mu, a particle indicative of probability, especially probability in the future.

mu, six.

mu or *mi*, the body, the person, hence self.

muji, wheat, barley. The *ji* is probably for *ki*, tree.

mugura, the name of a creeping plant,—the hop.

muka, opposite. Connected with the following.

muku, to turn towards.

mukade, a centipede.

muku, the name of a tree bearing berries, the *Celtis muku*.

muuna (a less ancient form is *muda*), empty, vain, useless.

munagi or *unagi*, an eel.

mura, a cluster. A participial form of the next.

muru, to congregate, to be in a crowd or cluster, as the houses of a village, clouds in the sky, mountains in a district. Also used transitively as *uma uchi-murete*, having gathered the horses together.

musi, an insect. Probably from the following, on account of the swarming of insects in hot and damp places. If this is really so, the original sense of *musi* would be a swarm.

musu, to grow, especially in a damp place, as moss ; to swarm. Also apparently to produce or to be produced in general, whence *musu-ko*, a boy, and *musu-me*, a girl, lit. a produced child, a produced female.

musu, to choke.

musubu, to coagulate, to form or harden, as a fruit; also to tie.

Probably derived from *musu* (1).

nuta, together.

mutu, familiar, dear.

N.

na, a name.

na, fish, alive or cooked; vegetables growing or cooked; food. It is uncertain which of these meanings is the original one. Possibly two or three independent words may have coalesced into one to form this general term.

na? what?

na! or *ne*! an emphatic and exclamatory particle.

na, non-existent. Also a prohibitive particle, similar to the Greek μή or the colloquial English "don't!"

na, or *nare*, thou. The *re* is probably an independent word. See s. v.

na, or *no*, of. *Na* would seem to be the older form of the word. It is preserved in such compounds (really phrases) as *mi-na-to*, the gate of the water, i.e., an estuary, afterwards a sea-port; *ma-na-ko*, the eye, etc.

<i>nabu</i> ,	}	to put in a row, to be in a row. Hence <i>nabe</i> , together.
<i>namu</i> ,		Conf. <i>nara</i> , flat.

<i>nabu</i> ,	}	to lick, to taste.
<i>namu</i> ,		
<i>napu</i> ,		

naburu, to tease.

nadu, wet.

nadu, to stroke.

nadumu, to be weary.

naga, long. Hence *nagaru*, to flow, and *nagara*, while.

nagi, an onion. Perhaps a compound, for *ki* means tree. The form *negi* is later.

nagu, to throw.

nagu, to become calm, said of the wind ; also of the passion of love ; also to calm. Hence probably *nagisa*, the sea-beach.

naka, inside. Perhaps a compound, as *ka* means place.

naka-naka, on the contrary, contrary to expectation.

naku, to cry, to sing.

name(*si*), rude, insolent.

nami, a wave.

namita, a tear.

nandi, thou. Probably a compound. Perhaps from *na-moti*, name-possessor, i.e., famous. This is the native derivation, and it is a plausible one ; for it is in accordance with all that we know of Japanese methods of expression for a so-called pronoun to be resolvable into an honorific phrase.

nanu or *nana*, seven.

nape, a sprout, a bud.

napo, straight, right. Hence used adverbially in the sense of yet, moreover.

napu, to twist.

nara, the name of a species of evergreen oak.

nara, flat, level. Possibly *nabu* or *namu*, to put in a row, may be contracted from *narabu* or *naramu*, the verbal form of this word *nara*.

nari, that whereby a man gains his livelihood, business. Identical with *naru*, to become ?

naru or *noru*, to become, to ripen.

naru, to get accustomed, to become tame.

naru,
nasu, } to resound, to make a noise, to cause to sound.

nasi, a pear-tree.

nasu, to do. Conf. *naru*, to become, of which it is the corresponding transitive.

nasu,
nosu, } to resemble.

natu, summer.

natu(*kasi*), fond, wrapped up in (metaph.).

natume, the jujube tree.

nawi, an earthquake.

nayamu, to be sick.

naz(opu), to compare, to liken.

ne, a root, the bottom or nethermost part of anything, e.g. of a mass of rocks.

ne, sound, resonance.

ne, a mountain peak.

ne ! an imperative particle. Apparently different from the emphatic *na* ! or *ne* !

nedu, to twist.

negu, to beg, to pray. Hence modern *negau*, for *negi-au*.

nezumi, a rat.

ni, in.

ni, a load.

ni, earth, mud ; hence a red colour.

nigiru, to grasp.

nigu, to run away.

<i>niko</i> ,	} soft, tender.
<i>nigi</i> ,	
<i>nigo</i> ,	

niku, odious. Hence *nikumu*, to hate.

nipa, a courtyard.

nipa(ka), suddenly. Perhaps connected with the next.

nipi, new.

nipo, the name of a bird, the widgeon.

nipopu, to be fragrant.

nire, a species of elm.

niru, to boil (food).

niru, to resemble.

nisi, the west wind. In later times it came to mean simply west, without any reference to the wind.

nisiki, brocade.

no, of. See *na* (7).

nobu, to lengthen. Hence *noboru*, to ascend, and *nobosu*, to cause to ascend.

nodo, the throat. From *nomi-to*, the drinking gate, as suggested by Japanese etymologists?

nodo(ka), soft, gentle.

noki, the eaves of a house. *Ki* is here, as usually, probably the word for tree or wood.

noku or *soku*, to put aside.

nomi, only.

nomu, to pray, to worship.

nomu, to drink.

noru, to tell, to say. Hence *norito*, the name of the Shintō rituals, etc.

noru, to ride (on a horse, or in a boat).

noti, afterwards.

nu, a jewel.

nu, to be. The existence of this verb, though highly probable, is not absolutely certain. The form from which it is most safely inferred is the often recurring gerund *nite*.

nu or *inu*, to sleep. *Nu* seems to be the verb to sleep, and *i* the substantive sleep, as in *yasu-i si nasazu*, I do not do a comfortable sleep, i.e., I cannot sleep quietly. If this view is correct, *inu* is really two words, thus *i nu*, lit. to sleep a sleep. In classical times the longer form was preferred as more elegant. In the colloquial of our day the *i* has again been cut off, in accordance with a general habit of the later form of the language.

nu or *no*, a broad expanse of uncultivated land, a moor.

nugu, to take off (clothes).

nuka, the forehead.

nuku, to pull through (e.g. a string through a bead), to go through.

nuno, grass-cloth.

nupu, to sew, to stitch.

nuru, to smear, hence to varnish.

nuru, to get wet.

nusa, offerings to the gods.

nusumu, to steal.

nute, a small bell.

nuye, the name of an apparently fabulous bird.

nuzi, a rainbow.

O.

o, that. (It occurs in *oti*, there, that way, a term corresponding to *koti*, here, this way, from *ko*, this; the syllable *ti* is probably the same as the word meaning road.)

obiyu, to take fright.

oboru, to drown.

obu, to bind round (the waist).

odoro or *osoro*, startling, frightening.

okasu, to transgress: *ayamati wo okasu*, to make a mistake.

oki, the offing, out at sea. Probably the same word as *oku* (8).

oki or *oku*, lateness.

okina, an old man.

oko(napu), to act, to behave.

okosu, to send hither (colloq. *yokosu*).

oku, to place, to put (aside), hence sometimes to exclude.

oku, to light or fall on,—as dew or hoar-frost.

oku or *oki*, the recesses or furthestmost part of any place, e.g. a mountain fastness, or an island far away from the mainland.

oku, to rise (especially from sleep). Hence the transitive *okosu*, to rouse.

okuru, to send (thither). Conf. *okosu*.

okuru, to remain behind, to be too late.

omi, a grandee. Perhaps, as the Japanese literati suggest, from *opo mi*, a great person.

omo, a mother.

omo, the human face, the surface of anything. Hence probably, by apocope, *mo*, face, direction.

omo, heavy.

omopu, to think of, to love. Perhaps from *omo*, heavy. The later language has formed from this same *omo*, a verb *omonzuru*, lit. to make heavy, hence to think much of, to esteem.

ono, self.

opo, big, great, many, rough, vague, general. It would seem from the texts as if the sense of vague were the most ancient,

opopu, to cover,

opu, to pursue.

opu, to carry on the back.

opu, to grow, to spring into existence.

orabu, to howl, to yell.

ore, thou, an insulting term.

osi, regrettable.

oso, slow (physically or mentally), silly.

osu, to push.

oto, a sound, a noise.

otu, to fall, to fail.

oyazi or *onazi*, same. The first is the older form.

oyobi, a finger. Hence modern *yubi*.

oyobu, to reach.

oyu, to get old. Hence *oya*, a parent.

P.

(This heading includes all words beginning with *f* or *h* in modern Japanese).

pa, a feather, a wing.

pa, the leaf of a tree.

pa, a tooth.

pa, the edge or extremity of anything; hence the beginning, the end.

pa, a thing, a person, that which. The classical and modern postposition *wa* is this word slightly disguised in pronunciation.

pa, each.

pada, the surface of anything, especially the naked surface of the body. Hence perhaps *padare*, snow in patches.

padu, to be ashamed.

pagi, the lespedeza tree. The second syllable is probably the word *ki*, tree, as in so many other names of trees and plants.

pagu, to flay.

paka, a grave. The syllable *ka* probably means place.

pakaru, to weigh; to reckon; hence to contrive, to plot.

pako, a box. Perhaps a compound, whose second syllable, *ko*, means basket.

paku, to put on, to wear (on the legs or feet), to gird on (as a sword).

paku, to sweep.

paku, to work.

(*paku* occurs for *kaku* in the sense of fitting a string to a bow.)

pama, the sea-shore.

panu, to put or to be inside something else, to insert, to immerse.

pana, a flower, a blossom.

pana, the nose. Perhaps the mucous secretion of the nose, a sense which the word still retains, was the original sense. If so, is it not possible that this word may be identical with the preceding one?

pana-pada, very.

pani, clay. Conf. *ni*, earth, showing that this word is probably a compound, though the *pa* is obscure.

panu, to separate.

papa, a mother. This word is remarkable, for most languages possessing it or a similar one use it to denote, not mother, but father.

papaki, the name of a tree, the *Kochia scoparia*.

papaki, a broom.

pape, a fly.

papu, to creep.

papu, to prosper.

papuru, to bury.

para, the belly.

para, a moor, uncultivated ground.

parara, an onomatope for being scattered about, e. g. boats on the waves, or leaves in the autumn breeze.

pari, an alder-tree.

pari, a needle, a pin.

paru or *paro*, far, distant.

paru, spring. Connected with the next?

paru, to clear up, to clear away. Also to cultivate (?)

paru, to stretch.

paru, to stick.

pasamu, to hold between two other things, e. g. between one's arm and one's body, or between a pair of pincers.

pasi, beloved, dear.

pasi, chopsticks.

pasi, a ladder, a bridge.

pasi, same meanings as *pa*, (4). But the syllable *si* remains unexplained. *Pasime*, beginning, evidently belongs to the same group; but the syllables *zime* are unexplained.

pasira, a pillar.

pasu or *pasiru*, to run.

pata, a loom, a flag.

pata, a fin.

pata, again. Apparently a variant of *mata*.

pataru, to urge, to dun. Perhaps derived from the preceding.

pati, a bee, a wasp.

patisu, a lotus.

pato, a pigeon.

patu, to finish. It is often used of a vessel concluding its voyage by coming into port. Possibly this was the original sense of the word.

patu, first, earliest.

patuka or *waduka*, only a little, trifling.

paya, quick.

payu, to grow, to lengthen.

paza, a depression, an interval, a space.

{ *pazi*, the name of a tree used for making bows.

{ *paru*, a bow-notch. The existence of these two words would seem to indicate the former existence of a word *pa*, or of some word beginning with *pa*, meaning bow.

pe, (*be*, rarely *pi*, *bi*, or *mi*), side, place, direction, neighborhood; hence employed in almost endless special significations, such as the *shore* of the sea (*pe tu nami*=the waves breaking on the beach), *out at sea* (*oki-be*), the *pro*w of a boat, a mountain *district* (*yama-be*), the *top* of any thing (*u-pe*, modern *ue*), the *front*, lit. edge-side of any thing, (*ma-pe*, modern *mae*), the evening, more lit. even-*side* (*yupu-be*), etc., etc.

pe, a pot, a saucepan. Hence *na-be*, a pot for cooking food (*na*).

pe, a clan.

pe or *pu*, a fold, a layer.

pedatu, to separate.

peru, to spin.

pi, sun, day, fire. It is uncertain whether *pi* meaning fire is not a different word from *pi* meaning primarily sun and secondarily day. In the meaning of daytime there is also the form *piru*. But a comparison with *yoru*, night-time, shows the syllable *ru* to be a suffix. The word *kepu*, to-day, is supposed by the native literati to stand for *ko*, this, and *pu*, which would thus be an alternative form of *pi*, day, found also in *kinopu*, yesterday, the other syllables of which are obscure.

pi, a weaver's shuttle.

pi, ice.

pi, a species of conifer, the *Thuya obtusa*.

pi, a conduit for water.

pibari, a lark. Probably a compound, but of what?

pibiku, to resound, to echo. Possibly a compound of *piku*, to pull.

pidari, left.

pidi, the elbow. Conf. *piza*, the knee.

pidu or *pidutu*, to be wet. Hence *pidi*, mud.

pikaru, to shine.

piku, to pull, to draw.

pima, an interval,—of space or time. Almost certainly a compound, as *ma* alone has the same signification.

pimo, a string, a girdle.

pina, the country, as opposed to the town.

pipiragu, to smart. Hence *pipiragi*, holly. An onomatope?

pira, flat, level. Hence *piraku*, to open, for *pira-aku*.

pire, a scarf, a veil, a banner.

piripu, or *piropu*, to pick up.

piro, broad; hence an arm's breadth, i. e., a fathom. Same as *pira*, flat?

piru, garlic.

piru, a leech.

piru, to dry (intrans.), hence to ebb. The corresponding transitive is *posu*.

piru, to sneeze.

pisa, long-lasting.

pisago, a gourd.

pisi, the name of a plant,—the water-caltrop.

pitapi, the brow, the forehead.

pito, one, hence an individual, a person.

pitu, a large box, a chest.

piza, the knee. Conf. *pidi*, the elbow.

po, the top of anything, anything that sticks up or out, or that is *en évidence*, as an ear of rice, the top of a hedge, a love affair which has been bruited abroad, etc.

po, a hundred. This term seems to be older than the more usual word *momo*, which it replaces in such compounds as *i-po*, five hundred; *ya-po*, eight hundred.

po, good and big. (But the interpretation is uncertain.)

po, or *pi*, fire. See *pi* (1).

podo or *pono*, indistinct, vague, distant, a glimmering light,—as at early dawn.

pogu, to carouse, hence to congratulate.

poka, another place, elsewhere. Probably a compound, as *ka* alone means place.

poko, a spear.

pokoru, to be proud.

pomu, to praise.

porobu, to fall to pieces or into ruins.

poru, to wish.

poru, to dig, to carve. Hence *pōra*, a hollow, a cave.

posi, a star. The Japanese etymologists consider this word to be a compound of *po*, fire, and *ishi*, stone. But is this likely? There is no evidence to support their opinion.

poso, thin, slender.

posu, to dry. See *piru*, to dry.

poto, the vagina.

poto-poto, almost. Connected with the next?

potori, neighbourhood.

pototogisu, the cuckoo. The first three syllables are probably onomatopoeic. *Gisu* or *gisi* is a termination also found in *kigisu* or *kigisi*, the pheasant. Conf. also *ugupisu*, the nightingale.

poyu, to bark.

pu, a field.

pu, to pass.

pu, to dwell.

pudi, the wistaria-tree.

puka, deep. *Puku*, to grow deep or dark (said of the night), is the same word.

puku, to blow.

puku, to thatch.

pukumu, to contain, to enfold.

pukuro, a bag. (From the preceding, or from the following?)

pukuru, to swell.

pumu, to tread.

puna, a species of carp.

puna or *pune*, a vessel of any description,—not only a ship or boat, as in modern usage, but also a vat for liquor.

pupumu, to swell,—said of a bud about to burst.

puru, to fall,—said of rain, snow, hail, etc.

puru, old.

puru, to shake, to tremble.

puru, to touch.

puru(mapu), to behave.

pusa, a falcon.

pusagu, } to obstruct.

pusegu, }

pus(apu), to suit, to agree.

pusi, a joint, a knot,—whether in the human body or in anything else.

pusu, to lie down.

pusuma, coverlet. (From the preceding?)

puta, two. Formed from *pito*, one, by means of vowel change. The numerals *mu*, six, and *ya*, eight, are derived in like manner from *mi*, three, and *yo*, four.

puti, a deep pool or watery abyss.

puto, great, good, sacred; hence broad, stout, thick.

puye, a flute.

puyu, winter.

R.

(This letter cannot commence any really independent word.)

ra or *ro*, a particle indicating vagueness. Hence *ra* sometimes forms a sort of plural.

rasi, a verbal particle indicating appearance or probability.

re, a suffix of uncertain meaning, found in such pronouns as *are* or *ware*, I; *nare*, thou; *kore*, this; *kare*, that; *tare?* who? etc. The forms without *re*, such as *a*, *wa*, *ko*, *ka*, *ta*, etc., seem to be in all cases the older ones.

S.

sa, a hill, a pass.

sa, narrow, small.

sa, genuine; hence often used as a kind of honorific and often merely expletive prefix. Another form is *sane*.

sabu, to be old, hoar.

sadamu, to settle, to decide. This word is not, as has been sometimes asserted, derived from the Sinico-Japanese *sata* 沙汰.

sade, a scoop, hence a hand-net. This word is not improbably a compound, of which the second member is *te*, the hand.

saduku, to entrust, to give in charge.

sagi, a heron, the *Egretta candidissima*.

sagu, to lower.

saka, a hill, whence *sakasi*, steep. Probably a compound of *sa*, narrow, and *ka*, a place, in allusion to the narrowness of the top of a pass or hill.

saka, contrary, opposite to the right way.

saka, cunning, wise. Perhaps identical with the preceding.

saka or *sake*, rice-beer.

sakapi, a frontier. Perhaps a compound of *saka*, hill, and *apu*, to meet, q. v. a range of hills forming the natural frontier where two districts meet.

sakebu, to yell.

saki, front, a protuberance.

saku, to be happy, to succeed. The noun *saki* (also *sati*, and compound *satipapi*, modern *saiwai*) means luck, success.

saku, to avoid.

saku, to be parted, to rip open, to tear asunder; hence to blossom.

sakura, the cherry tree. Perhaps derived from the preceding word, as having been always considered in Japan *the* blossoming tree *par excellence*.

sama, manner, fashion.

sama(*yopu*), to wander about.

same, rain. See *ama* or *ame*, the sky, rain.

samu, cold.

sane, see *sa* (3).

sapa, many, much.

saparu,
sapu,
sayaru, } to hinder, to strike against.

sape, also. Apparently connected with *sopu*, to add.

sapiduru, to twitter.

sara, again. Same as *sura*, even?

sarasu, to expose to the action of air, light, or water.

saru, an ape.

saru, to depart, to leave, to omit.

sasa, an onomatope for whispering. Hence *sasayaku*, to whisper.

sasu, straight, direct.

sasu, to pierce.

sasu, to close.

sato, a village.

sato, quick of perception. Hence *satoru*, to understand.

satu or *sati*, luck.

sayu, an onomatope for a rustling sound. Hence *sayagu* or *sawagu*, to rustle, to make a noise.

sawo, a pole.

sayu, a sheath, a scabbard.

sayu,
soyu, } an onomatope for the rustling of leaves. Conf. *sayagu*.

sayu, to be cold; hence to be clear.

sazaki, a wren.

se, an elder brother, a lover, a husband. In archaic times these ideas were not clearly distinguished. Hence the fact of the same word being used for all three.

se, a reach in, or the current of, a stream.

seba or *sema*, narrow, small.

seku, to dam, to bar.

semi, a cicada. Probably a Chinese word, for it is written with the Chinese character 蟬, which is itself pronounced *sen*.

semu, to press upon, to harass. (Related to *seba*, narrow?)

si, the wind. It occurs in such compounds as *arasi*, a rough wind, a tempest; *tumusi*, a whirlwind, etc., and in *nisi* and *pigasi*, names of winds.

si, you.

si, it.

si, a particle having a slight separative force.

si, a particle indicative of past time. Though used as the attributive form corresponding to the conclusive particle *ki*, which has the same signification, it was probably at first a separate word, just as the various parts of the English verb "to be" are derived not from one root, but from three different roots.

si, pure (?)—In the compound *simidu*, pure water.

si or *sizi*, thick, numerous.

siba, often. Probably connected with the preceding. Hence *sima-raku*, some time.

siba, a twig.

sibi, a tunny-fish.

sibomu, to close, to wither.

sibu, dirty water? a stain of mud? The word has some such sense as this, but is obscure. It may be connected either with *sibu*, the juice or sap of a tree, or with *sime*, to stain, more probably with the latter.

sidaru, to hang down.

sidu, quiet; also poor.

sidu, beneath. Hence *siduku* or *sidumu*, to sink.

sige or *simi*, dense, luxuriant. Said of vegetation.

sigi, a woodcock.

sigure, fine rain.

siko, rough, ugly, sometimes brave.

siku, to resemble, to be as good as. Hence *sika*, thus.

siku, to spread, to extend.

sima, an island.

simo, hoar-frost.

simo, below.

simu, to soak in, to stain.

simu, to shut.

simu, to fix on, to point out. Identical with the preceding?

sina, a difference in height, a grade, a gradation, a step. Hence in the later language, a quality, an article of commerce.

sin(apu),
sin(ubu), } to bend under a burden ; hence to grieve ; hence to long
sin(upu), } for. See *sinu*.

sine, same as *ina* or *ine*, rice.

sinu, to falter and droop—as a heart full of sadness ; to give way, hence to die. *Sinapu*, *sinupu* or *sinubu*, to bend under a burden, to grieve, to long for, to love, and *sinayu*, to decay, are evidently from the same root.

sinu or *sino*, bamboo-grass.

sipa, last (adj.).

sipi, an acorn.

sipo, salt, the brine of the sea.

sipu, to urge, to force.

sira or *siro*, white.

sire, silly.

siri, behind, the rump.

siro, an area, an enclosure. Hence, in the later language, a castle, also exchange, price: *musiro*, *yasiro*, etc., are compounds of this word.

siru, juice.

siru, to construct, to know, to govern. This last meaning was probably derived at very early period by literal translation from the Chinese, where the same character 知 signifies both to know and to govern.

sisi, any large animal which is hunted as game,—such as the boar and the deer.

sisi, flesh. Probably identical with the preceding.

sita, the tongue.

sita, below, beneath. Conf. *sidu*.

sit(apu), to yearn after, to love.

sira, a wrinkle.

sire, an expletive somewhat resembling our phrase, well then !

so, hemp, a garment.

so, ten. This seems to be older than the more usual term, *to*, *ten*, which it replaces in such compounds as *mi-so*, thirty ; *i-so*, fifty, etc.

so, that.

so, gently.

so or *se*, the back, behind.

soba, a kind of tree, supposed to be the modern *kaname-mochi*, *Photinia glabra*.

soko, also *soku*, and *soki*, the bottom.

soko, much. Hence *soko-vaku*, and *soko-baku*.

soko-napu, to spoil.

soku, to remove, to separate.

soku, *sogu*, *sosogu*, *susugu*, to pour, to purify by water, to clear.

sonu, to dye. Conf. *simu*, to soak in, to stain.

somu, to begin (intrans.).

son(apu), to provide, to complete.

sopo, wet.

sopo, vermilion (?).

sopu, to be alongside of, to add.

sora, the empty firmament; hence the sky; also emptiness, falsehood.

su, the extremity or lower part of anything.

su, a mat or blind made of small bamboos.

su, a sand-bank.

su, a nest, any small habitation made by an animal, e.g. a spider's web.

su, vinegar.

suu or *sumu*, to control, to be chief. Hence *sumera*, or *sumerogi*, sovereign.

- subu* or *subo*, narrow, small. Conf. *seba*.
sudaku, to swarm,—said of insects.
suga, believed to mean clear, pure. Conf. *sumu* (2).
suga or *suge*, the name of a kind of rush.
sugi, the *Cryptomeria japonica*. Probably a compound, *gi* being the *nigori* of *ki*, tree, and *sumu* or *sugu* meaning straight.
sugu, to pass.
suki, a spade.
sukosi, a little.
suku, to help.
sukuna, small. Conf. *sukosi*, a little.
sukune, a title of nobility.
sumi, a corner.
sumi, ink. Probably a secondary acceptance of the term *sumi*, charcoal, which does not happen to occur in the archaic texts.
sunire, a violet.
sumu, to dwell.
sumu, to be clear, to be pure and limpid.
sumu, *sumi(yaka)* or *sugu*, straight, straightway, speedy.
sunapati, namely, to wit. (Connected with the preceding ?)
sune, the shin.
supe or *sube*, a way, a method. (From *suru*, to do, and *pe*, direction ?)
sura, even (adv.), no less than. Same as *sara*, again ?
su(ru), to do.
suru, to rub.
susabu, *susamu*, *susugu* or *susumu*, to advance or increase in degree, or in severity.
suso, the lower border or hem of a garment. A compound of which the second part is *so*, garment ?
susu, an onomatope for a rustling sound.
susuki, the name of a species of perch, the *Labrax japonicus*.
susuru, to sip.
suwe, the end or extremity of anything.
suwu or *suyu*, to set, to put.
suzu, a small bell.
suzume, a sparrow.

T.

ta, a field.—Not necessarily, as in modern parlance, a paddy-field.

ta ? who ?

ta or *te*, the hand.—Very numerous compounds exist, e.g. *ta-na-pira*, the palm of the hand ; *ta-suku*, to save, lit. to hand-help ; *ta-woru*, to pinch, lit. to hand-break ; *ta-kumi*, a carpenter, lit. a hand-combiner, etc.

tabi, a time (une fois).

tabi or *tapi*, a journey.

taburu, to act funnily or absurdly.

tada, straight, direct ; hence only.

tade, magwort.

tado-tado or *tadu-tadu*, gropingly, uncertainly. Hence *tadayopu*, to wonder.

tadunu, to seek, to repair or resort to.

tag(apu), to differ.

tagi or *taki*, rapids in a river ; hence a waterfall.

tagiru, *tagitu*, to resound.

tagupu, to accompany, to add.

taka, a hawk.

taka or *take*, a bamboo.

taka, high.

takara, a treasure.

take, manly vigor, courage. Hence *takeru*, a bandit.

take, a mountain peak.

taku, cloth made of paper mulberrybark (?).

taku, to row or urge a boat on with every possible effort.—This, though not absolutely certain, is the interpretation given by the best native authorities.

taku, to kindle, to light.

taku or *tagu*, to tie, to bind up,—as hair.

tama, a ball, a bead, a jewel.

tama, the soul, the spirit.—Perhaps from the preceding.

tama, chance, occasion.

tamapu, to give.—Perhaps from *tama*, a jewel. Some forms of the word have *b* for *m* in the stem, as *tabaru*, to have given to one.

tame, for the sake of; in order.

tami, a peasant.

tamu, to go round.

tamu, to be stagnant, to collect in one place. Probably connected with *tonu*, to stop?

tana, a board to place things on, a shelf.

tane, a seed. Also *sane*.

tani, a valley.

tanomu, to rely on, to trust.

tapa, a joke, nonsense. Hence *tapapuru* (colloq. *tawamuru*), to frolic.

tape, cloth.

tapi, a general name for several species of fish resembling the perch.

tapu, to endure, to suffer.

tapuru, to fall down, to die.

tapusu, to knock down, to kill.

taputo, venerable.

tari, a flagon, a jug.

tari, a suffix apparently meaning person. It occurs in such compounds as *mi-tari*, three persons; *yo-tari*, four persons; *iku-tari*? how many persons? etc. *Pito-ri*, one person, and *puta-ri*, two persons, show this suffix in an apocopated form.

taru, to droop, to hang down.

taru, to suffice.

tasi, joyful.

tasi-dasi, an onomatope for the rattling sound made by hail.

tasimu, to grow luxuriantly.

tata or *tate*, a shield. (From *tatu*, to set up?)

tatakui, to hit, to knock.

tatamu, to fold, to pile up.—Hence *tatami*, a rug, later a mat.

tatapu, to fulfil.

tataru, to smite with a curse, to be revenged on.

tati, a sword.

tati, a pluralising particle, probably derived from the verb *tatu*, to stand.

tati-mati, suddenly. Apparently an onomatope.

tatu or *tachu*, a crane (bird).

tatu, a dragon.

tatu, to stand up, hence to start on a journey ; also transitively to set up, to erect.

tatu, to cut.

tatu, to shut.

tawawa, *tawaya*, or *tawora*, bending, weak.

tayu, to slack, to relax. (Connected with the preceding ?)

tayu, to come to an end. (Same as the preceding ?)

teru, to shine.

teru, to deal in, to sell.

ti, the female breast, and the milk which flows from it.

ti, a kind of grass,—the *Eulalia japonica*.

ti, a thousand.

ti or *te*, a road. The modern *miti* is this *ti* with the honorific prefix *mi*.

tika, near.

tikara, strength.

tiru, to be scattered, to fall,—as blossoms fluttering in the breeze.

tisa, lettuce.

titi, a father.

to, a door.—Hence probably *ka-do*, a gate.

to, ten.

to, sharp, quick.

to, outside.

to, that.—The adjective-pronoun *that*. Later the word *to*, like its English equivalent, became a conjunction.

toga, a fault.—Hence *togamu*, to find fault with.

togu, to polish, to whet.

togu, to accomplish.

toki, time.—Perhaps *toki*, time ; *toko*, eternal ; and *tuki* or *tuku*, the moon, are connected with each other.

toko, or *toki*, lasting a long time, evergreen, eternal.

toko, a sleeping-place, a bed. Identical with the next ?

tokoro, a place.

tokoro, the name of a creeping plant, the *Dioscorea quinqueloba*.

toku or *tuku*, to light on, to arrive.

toku, to loosen, to undo.

tomo, the stern of a boat.

tomo, a party of people, a companion.

tomosi, scanty.—This seems to be the original sense, but it is generally used by the earliest poets to signify enviable.

tomosu, to light.—Hence *tomosi-bi*, a wick or candle.

tonu, or *todomu*, to stop.

tone, a government officer.—Mabuchi derives this word from *toneri*, for *to no mori*, a gate-keeper.

toneri. See preceding word.

tono, a palace.

topo, distant.

topu, to ask (after).

topu or *tobu*, to fly.—Hence probably *tubasa*, wings.

tora, a tiger.

tori, a bird.

toru, to take.

tose or *tosi*, a year.—The Japanese literati derive this word from *toru*, to take, with reference to the taking or ingathering of the harvest.

toton(*opu*), to be or to set in proper order, to adjust.

toyo, plenty, luxuriance, prosperity.

toyo, an onomatope for noise.—Hence *toyomu*, to be noisy or tumultuous.

tozi, a housewife.

tu, of.

tu or *ti*, an “auxiliary numeral” or “classifier” (conf. one *piecay*, two *piecay* in Pidjin-English), which is suffixed to the numerals proper, e.g. *pito-tu*, one; *puta-tu*, two; *yu-tu*, five hundred; *momo-ti*, a hundred, *i-ho-ti*, one form of the word five hundred.

tu, a verbal particle which shows that the action is completely finished and done with. The Japanese commentators derive it by aphæresis from *patu*, to finish. The gerund termination *te* is a form of this word *tu*.

tu or *to*, a port, an anchorage.

tuba(*ki*), the camellia-tree.

tubara, care, attention.—Said of thought bestowed on a subject. Native scholars consider this word to be a contraction of *tumabiraka*, clear, evident in every detail. But this is doubtful, if only for the reason that *tubara* occurs in the earliest texts, whereas *tumabiraka* does not.

tubasa, wings. See *topu*, to fly.

tubo, a jar.

tuburu, to burst, to break.

tubusa, carefulness. Conf. *tubara*.

tud(*opu*), to assemble, to crowd together.

tuge, the boxwood tree.

tuduku, to continue.

tudumi, a drum.

tudura, the name of a creeping plant. Supposed to be the *Coculus thunbergi*.

tuga, the name of a tree, the *Abies tuga*.

tugu, to follow, to add, to supply.—Hence *mi-tugi*, the (honourable) taxes.—Same as *tuduku*, to continue ?

tugu, to tell.

tuka, a handle or hilt. Hence *tukamu*, to take hold of, to clutch.

tuka, or *tuki*, a mound, hence a tomb.

tukapu, to serve, to employ. Hence *tukapi*, a messenger.

tukasa, a ruler.

tuki, the name of a tree, probably the *Zelkova keaki*.

tuku or *tuki*, the moon. Conf. *toki*, time.

tuku, to stick, to cling.

tuku, to pile up,—as earth; to pound,—as rice.

tuku, to ram (with the horns), to thrust, to sting. (Identical with the preceding ?)

tuku, to be finished, quenched. Hence *tukusu* to exhaust, and *tukaru*, to be tired.

tukuru, to form, to make.

tuma, the edge, or border of anything.

tuma, minute, small. It occurs in such compounds as *tumagi*, fire-wood; *tuma-bara* and *tumabiraka*, minutely, clear and detailed. Possibly it is identical with the preceding word.

tume, the nail, talon or hoof of any living creature.

tumi, a sin, a crime.

tumi, a species of mulberry-tree.

tumu, to heap, to pack together.

tumu, to pick, to pluck.

tumuzi, a whirlwind.

tura, a rope.

tune, a constant habit, an invariable precedent, always.

turnu or *tuno*, a horn.

tupi, a long time, at length.

tura, a row, a line.

tura, unfeeling, unsympathetic.

turu, to take as a companion. Hence *turre*, something occurring in connection with something else, the reason or cause of a thing.

turu, to catch (fish), to angle.—Same as *toru*, to take ?

turu or *tura*, a string.

turugi, a sabre.—Perhaps a compound signifying the wooden (*ki*) implement which is hung round the waist by means of a string (*turu*). But this seems hardly likely.

tuta, ivy. From the next ?

tut(apu), to be continuous, to hand along, to transmit.—The form *tute* also occurs.

tuti, the earth.

tuto, a parcel.—From *tut(apu)*, to transmit ?

tutomu, to be diligent.

tutu, a suffix expressing simultaneity.

tutummu, to enclose, to wrap up.—Hence *tutumi*, an embankment, a dyke.

tutuzi, the azalea-tree.

tuve, a stick.

tuyo, strong.

tuyu, dew.

U.

u, a cormorant.

u, a hare.

u, a shrub bearing a white blossom,—the *Deutzia scabra*.

u, the upper part, above. Hence *upa*, *upe*, modern *uye* or *ue*.

u, yes. Hence *ube*, an adverb of asseveration meaning it is natural that.

u, sad, dreary.

u, to get.

ubara or *ibara*, a brambly bush.

udaku, to roar,—said of the wild boar.

uli, a family (name).

udura, a quail.

ugoku, to move.

ugupitu, the nightingale.

uka, food.

uka, an ambush, spying. Hence *ukami*, a spy, and *ukagapu*, to pry into.

uku, to receive. Hence probably *ukepu*, to worship, to swear by.

uku, to float.

uma, or *ma*, *muma*, a horse. The form *uma* is the most usual. *Ma* seems to stand by apocope for *uma* when the metre necessitates the retrenchment of a syllable. Nevertheless it can scarcely be doubted that the Japanese word is derived from the Chinese 馬 (*ma*), the animal itself having been introduced from China or Korea apparently subsequent to the third century of the Christian era. It is a significant fact that the Ainos, who of course became acquainted with horses at a still later period and through intercourse with the Japanese, have adopted the Japanese word *uma* (pronounced by them *umma*) to denote it. Similarly the Korean term is *mal*, also too like the Chinese to be considered independent of the latter. The case is throughout one of borrowing, not of coincidence.

umasi, good, honourable; hence nice, pleasant.

ume, a plum-tree. Probably from the Chinese 梅 *mei*, the tree itself having almost certainly been introduced from China.

umi or *una*, the sea.

umu, to give birth to, to produce.

umu, to spin. Possibly identical with the preceding.

umu, to grow weary.

umu, to fill up with earth.

unu or *une*, the neck, the head, a ridge between furrows.

ura, (1) the back or hind part of anything, inside, the reverse ; hence the heart, the mind, divination of things unseen, soothsaying. (2) Probably identical with the above is the sense of beach, sea-shore (sand of a bay,—not of any open place). From *ura* come such words as *uranapu*, to divine ; *utagapu* (for *ura tagapu*), to suspect, etc.

ure, the topmost twigs of a tree.

ure, grief. Possibly from *ura*.

uresi, joyful. Possibly from *ura*.

uru, or *uro*, silly.

uru(pasi), delightful. Conf. *uru(popu)*, to moisten, to fertilise.

usi, a bull, a cow.

usi, a master. The modern *nushi*, properly *n'ushi*, is a contraction of *no ushi*, as *Ōkuni-nushi*, the master of the great land (the name of a Shintō deity).

usiro, behind, the back.

usu, to vanish. Hence *usi(napu)*, to lose.

uso, whistling.

usu, a mortar.

utaki, terrible, savage.

utate, sorrow.

uti, inside.

uto, unfamiliar, unfriendly.

utu, to strike, to beat.

uturu, } to remove. Also with initial *y*, thus *yuturu*.
utusu, }

utu(tu), also *wotutu*, actual, present, waking reality as opposed to dreams. Similarly *utu(siki)*, evident, *ututa(ue)*, plainly, with single intent.

uwo, a fish.

uruu, to be hungry.

uruu, to plant.

usi, a maggot. Conf. *musi*, an insect.

uzu, a head-dress.

W.

wa, something round, a circle, surroundings, a wheel. Hence *wada*, a coil; *wadakamaru*, to writhe.

wa or *ware*, I. Another form, used only by women, is *warapa*.

wabu, to complain, to lament.

waduka. See *patuka*.

wadu(rapu), to be sick.

waka, young. Perhaps from *waku*, to spring forth.

waki, the arm-pit.

waku, to spring forth—as a fountain; to boil (water).

waku, to divide. Hence *wakaru*, to be in a state of division, to be understood.

wakuraba, rarely, with difficulty. Evidently a compound, but of what?

wana, a snare, a pitfall. May not this be a contraction of *wa ana*, a circular hole?

wananaku, or *wononoku*, to tremble, to shudder.

wani, the name of a sea-monster, perhaps the crocodile. Some identify it with the shark.

wara, straw.

warabi, a kind of fern.

waru, to split, to rive asunder.

wasi, an eagle.

wasuru, to forget.

wata, the sea.

wata, cotton.

watari. See *atari*.

wataru, to cross (the water).

watasu, to put across.

wawaku, to be in shreds.

waza, an action. Hence *waza-papi*, a calamity.

we! an exclamatory particle.

wegu, the name of a kind of grass.

wemu, to smile.

wepu, to become intoxicated.

vera-vera, an onomatope for joyous smiles or laughter.

veru, to make a hole, to cut into.

wi, a boar.

wi, a well.

wiru, to be in, to dwell. See *uru*.

wiya, thanks, courtesy.

wo, a man.

wo, hemp ; hence a cord, string.

wo, a hillock. Hence *wo-ka* lit. a hillock-place, i. e., a hillock.

wo, a tail.

wo, small.

wo! an interjection corresponding to the English oh ! and occurring at the end of clauses. Its classical and modern use as a sign of the accusative case was the gradual development of later times.

wodi, an old man.

woko, foolish.

woku, to beckon.

womina, a woman.

womina, an old woman.

wono, an axe.

wopu, to finish.

woroti, a serpent.

woru, to break.

woru, to dwell, to be. Same as *uru*, q. v.

wosi, regrettable, precious. Hence *wosimu*, to grudge.

wosipu, to teach.

woso, a lie, a falsehood ; also foolishness. The occurrence of this word is somewhat doubtful ; but the fact of its existence is rendered more than probable by the existence of the modern word *uso* (for *wuso*), having the same signification.

wosu, to eat, also to govern. Hence *wosa*, a chieftain ; whence again, also *wosanu*, to quell, to govern.

woti, *wote*, *woto*, there, the other or further side.

wotoko, a young man.

wotome, a maiden.

woworu, probably to hang down.

wu, to be in, to dwell. This original first conjugation form,—*wu*, *wi*, *we*, etc., was already obsolescent in archaic times, being almost always replaced by *wiru*, fourth conjugation. *Woru*, a lengthened first conjugation form, is also to be referred to the simple *wu*.

Y.

ya, a house. Probably for *wiya*, from *wu*, to dwell. Hence probably *yado*, for *ya-to*, house door, i. e., a dwelling, *yadoru*, to dwell; *ya-tu-ko*, a slave, lit. a child of the house.

ya, eight.

ya, a particle of interrogation or doubt.

yaburu, to break.

yado, a dwelling. See *ya*.

yaku, to burn.

yama, a mountain, a hill,

yami, total darkness.

yamu, to cease.

yamu, to be wounded, sick.

yana, a weir. Conf. *wana*.

yanagi, or *yagi*, a willow-tree. The termination *gi* probably means tree, as in so many other cases.

yapa, smooth.

yaru, to send.

yaru, to tear.

yasu(siki), easy-going, pleasant.

yasu, easy, at ease.

yasi(namu), to take care of, to feed.

yasu, to grow thin.

ya-ya, gradually. Probably an onomatope.

ye, a branch—of a tree or of a river.

ye, forced labour. Some plausibly derive it from the Chinese *yeki* or *yaku* 役.

ye or *yo*, good.

yemisi, the barbarian aborigines of Japan.

yeru, to choose.

yo, life, age, a generation, hence the world.

yo, night. Hence *yo-pi*, (also *yu-pu*) lit. night-day, i. e., evening.

yo, four.

yo ! oh !

yobu, to call. (Derived from the preceding ?)

yodo, a sluggish place in a stream, an almost stagnant current.

yodu, to climb.

yoko, athwart, crosswise.

yoku, to set aside, to avert, to escape.

yomi, *yomo*, Hades. Conf. *yami*, total darkness.

yomu, to count. Probably identical with *yobu*, to call.

yoro(*du*), a myriad.

yorokobu, to rejoice. Conf. *ye* (3).

yorosi, good. Conf. *ye* (3).

yoru, to approach, to lean on, to rely on. Hence the particle *yori*, meaning owing to, since, from.

yosi, manner, facts, circumstances.

yoso(*pu*), to deck, to attire.

yosori, dependence, reliance. (Connected with *yoru*, to rely ?)

yasu, to bring together, to collect. Conf. *yoru*.

yowa, weak.

yu, from. Connected with *yoru* ?

yu, a bow. It is probably this word which we have in the compound *ma-yu* or *ma-yo*, eyebrow, literally eye-bow. *Yumi*, a bow, is an alternative form.

yu, hot water.

yuka, a floor.

yuki, snow.

yuku, to go.

yune, a dream. It is also written *yome*, and may possibly be a compound of *yo*, night, and *me*, the eyes.

yumu, to shun, to avoid.

yupu, wool.

yupu, evening. Perhaps from *yo-pi*, lit. night-day.

yupu, to tie.

yuru, or *yuru*, loose, pliable, unstable.

yuri, also *yu* and *yo*, after. It seems uncertain whether this is an independent word, or only a variant of *yor**i*, since, from, owing to, derived from *yoru*, to rely.

yuri, a lily.

yurusu, to slacken hold of, to allow.

yuta, plenty.

yut(*apu*), to move or float slowly about, to wave or rock.

yure, or *yowe*, the reason owing to which anything happens.

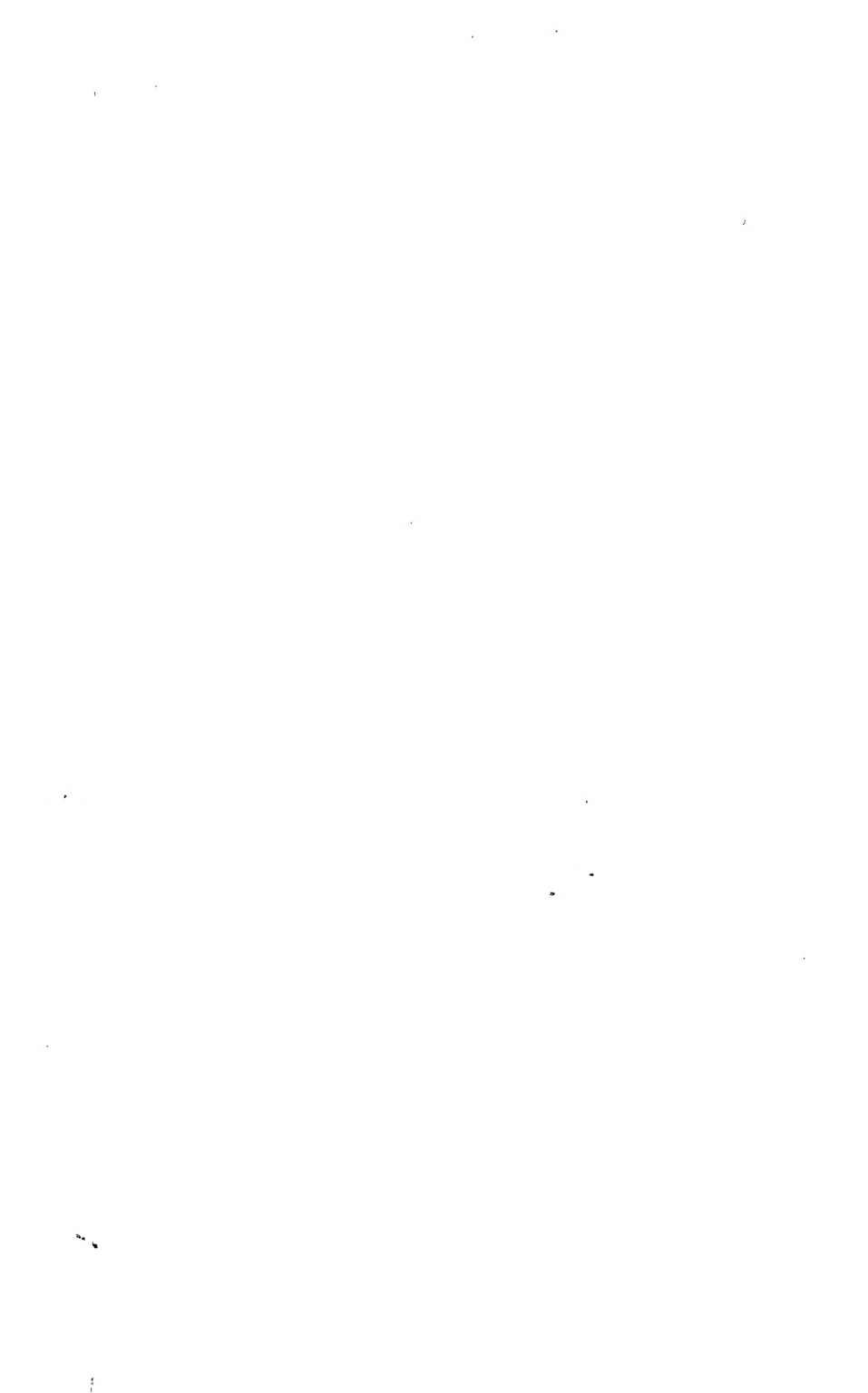
yuyusi, unlucky, awful,—e. g. the abode of a deity.

Z.

zi, a verbal suffix signifying improbability, especially improbability in the future.

zo, an emphatic particle.

zu, a negative suffix.



"A book that is shut is but a block"

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